The Margaret Eaton School, 1901-1942:

Women's Education in Elocution, Drama and Physical Education

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Abbreviations in Footnotes

AO	Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario.
AO-EC	Archives of Ontario, Eaton Collection, Toronto, Ontario.
UTA	University of Toronto Archives, Toronto Ontario.
UTA-DPEA	University of Toronto Archives, Department of Physical Education and Athletics, Toronto, Ontario.
EFA	Eaton Foundation Archives, Toronto, Ontario.
VUA	Victoria University Archives, Toronto, Ontario.

Chapter One: Introduction

1. Brief Historical Overview of the Margaret Eaton School

The Margaret Eaton School (MES), played a pioneering role in the development of theatre and physical education in Canada. This Toronto school began in 1901 as "The School of Expression." Its first period is really about one woman, Emma Scott Raff, and a small school, located in a small room above some offices. Scott Raff began this school for women interested in elocution and physical education. In MES's curriculum "Literature and voice culture are allied in this modern curriculum with physical culture and household science, proving the healthy recognition of the importance of developing the body and the keeping of the home."[1] Most students, during the first few years, enroled on a part-time or per-course basis, while a few women studied towards a one year diploma.[2] One of these students, Margaret Eaton, would play a significant role in the future of the school as wealthy benefactor. Her money changed MES from one of several small and insignificant schools of expression to a more visible and long lasting institution.

Because of overcrowding, the school moved to new quarters in 1906. Timothy Eaton, the founder of the Eaton Company, a large Canadian department store, provided his wife with the money to

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[1] "Literature and Expression," AO-EC, Series 162, Box 24, "(Education--Margaret Eaton School) Press Clippings (1925-60)."

[2] Report from Emma Scott Raff to the Board of Directors, Fall 1911, VUA, Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash, Box 9, File 135, "The Margaret Eaton School;" and Margaret Eaton School Alumnae List 1953, which has been revised, updated and included as Appendix H1.

pay for the new building and its contents.[3] In honour of his wife, he agreed that it be named the "Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression."[4] Margaret Eaton was known as the School's "generous patron [and] one of its most interested students."[5] The school was incorporated and a Board of Directors was selected from the shareholders. From the incorporation of the school till its amalgamation with the University of Toronto in 1941, shareholders numbered eight or fewer. The Board of Directors consisted of members and friends of the Eaton's family, executives of the Eaton Company, and the school's principal.[6] By 1915, the curriculum had shifted to embrace two distinct departments, namely, Dramatic Art and Physical Education.[7] A two year diploma in Physical Education was developed by 1916.[8] Yet, several hundred students attended only a course or two.[9] Most of the students came from wealthy homes, and were increasingly interested in Physical Education. The school also made an impact on the Little Theatre movement in Canada, and to the training of physical education teachers. With the change in student interest

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[3] Jackson, 8-9.

[4] "A Beautiful Teaching Centre," Globe (19 January 1907): 11.

[5] Helen Parsons, "Brief Notes on the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression and the Margaret Eaton School," The-News-of-the-School, IX (March 1942) 2; and "Mrs Timothy Eaton Passes at Oakville," Toronto Daily Star (20 March 1933): 3.

[6] Jackson, 33.

[7] Calendar 1915-1916, 20-21.

[8] Helen Gurney, The CAHPER Story, (Vanier: Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, 1983), 4.

[9] Report from Emma Scott Raff to the Board of Directors, Fall 1911.

and continued financial debts, Margaret Eaton ended her financial support at the end of this period.

The school year 1925-1926 was a transitional year for the School. Because the School's location was on North Street--presently Bay--that was widened in the year 1925, the building was demolished and the School was relocated.[10] The Department of Literature and Dramatic Art was deleted after this year, since too few students enroled in this Department.[11]

The Department of Physical Education provided the entire curriculum of the School during the final period, 1926-1942. MES played a critical role in the development of women's physical education in Canada--there was no other school in Canada that provided as comprehensive a program in Physical Education as did MES. The school became self-governing and the Board of Directors stopped meeting, although the Eaton Company did keep a careful eye on the school. Entrance requirements gradually increased through this period to include grade twelve or grade thirteen Graduation.[12] In 1934 the School developed a cooperative arrangement with the University of Toronto in which the School's students would take courses such as anatomy at the University. Meanwhile, the university could make some use of the School's

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[10] Jackson, 21-22; a pamphlet entitled: "The Margaret Eaton School Syllabus of Courses for the Season," AO-EC, Series 162, Box 24, "Education--Margaret Eaton School--Press Clippings (1925-1960); "New Quarters for School: Old YMCA building on Yonge Street being Remodelled," Telegram (1925); "Diplomas Received by Girl Graduates," Globe (12 June 1925): 14; and Calendar 1925-1926, 4.

[11] Jackson, 22-23.

[12] Calendar 1932-1933, 12.

facilities.[13] In 1941, finding that a degree was essential to many positions in physical education, the School merged with the University of Toronto, and made possible the beginning of a Bachelor's program in Physical Education at the University--the first in Canada.[14] The final School graduation was in 1942.

2. Existing Discussion on MES

The earliest work describing this School is found in a 1910 book compiled by Hodgins, and written by Emma Scott Raff, the School's principal. She wrote four brief paragraphs on the beginning of the School, its government, its faculty, and its purpose.[15]

The most comprehensive analysis of this School, and the most often quoted source on MES, is a 33-page booklet written in 1953 by Dorothy Jackson, a graduate ('27)[16] and faculty member of the School. However, her sources were primarily the School's calendars and her personal experience at the School.

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[13] Florence Somers, "Report on `Co-operation' Between The University of Toronto and The Margaret Eaton School for 1934-35," April 31, 1935, UTA-DEPA, A68-0006.

[14] Florence A. Somers, letter to "Dear Members of the Alumnae Association," September 18, 1941, also F. A. Somers, pamphlet on "Margaret Eaton School," UTA-DEPA, A87-0027/034; E. Stanley Ryerson to The Hon. and Rev. H. J. Cody, on March 21, 1941, 3, UTA-DEPA, A82-1134; The-News-of-the-School VIII (June 1941): 1; "Eaton School to be part of the University," Toronto Star (20 June 1941): 10; and "Eaton School Part of the University of Toronto," Globe and Mail (20 June 1941).

[15] Emma Scott Raff, "The Margaret Eaton School of Expression, Toronto," in J. George Hodgins, The Establishment of Schools and Colleges in Ontario, 1792-1910, Volume II, (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1910), 251.

[16] The parenthesis following some names, indicates the year they graduated from MES.

Unfortunately, she made no use of the correspondence between principal, shareholders, board of directors, and those involved with the school on account of their work at the Eaton Company; nor did she analyze MES's financial records. In addition, she glossed over difficulties MES experienced, particularly in the Twenties.[17] The Eaton Company provided $556 to produce one thousand copies of this booklet.[18]

In addition to the above, three doctoral studies give some information on MES.[19] Kennedy devotes at least nine pages to MES. He described MES as one of the four schools offering physical education preparation programs in Canada prior to World War II. In addition to using Jackson's booklet and calendars, he also interviewed Mary Hamilton and Mildred Wickson. Mary Hamilton taught physical education at the School from 1910 to 1934, and was the School's principal from 1926 to 1934. Mildred Wickson ('27) taught a course there in 1937. From these interviews one learns that "there was only a smattering of physical education at first, the leadership of these two women [Emma Scott Raff and Mary Hamilton] promoted interest in this field."[20] With respect to instruction during the Twenties, Kennedy remarks that "Poise and posture continued to receive attention. A former student [Wickson] recalls instructions as to the best method of `getting

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[17] Jackson.

[18] Memorandum, April 25, 1953, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[19] The results of an additional doctoral study in progress can be found in: John Byl, "The Margaret Eaton School (1901-1941)," North American Society for Sport History Proceedings--1991, 15.

[20] William F.R. Kennedy, "A History of Professional Preparation in Health, Physical Education, and Recreation in Canada," (Ed.D. Project Report, Teachers College--Columbia University, 1956), 51.

into a taxi' or `picking up things gracefully.'"[21] Though Kennedy's work contributes somewhat to an understanding of MES, his analysis is far from complete.

O'Bryan's work is the second doctoral thesis giving information on MES. Her main interest is several Ontario Universities, and she discusses MES in relation to the history of the physical education program at the University of Toronto. O'Bryan suggested that MES "exerted an early and strong influence on physical education in Ontario." In respect to MES's origins, she felt it did not "grow from sweat" as the University of Toronto did, but "arose out of elegance and expression." She described MES's students as "essentially upper-class young ladies being `finished' and prepared for genteel occupations." Unfortunately, she does not substantiate this claim. She also discusses in some detail the history of MES's eventual amalgamation with the University of Toronto, and states: "the T. Eaton Company, were understandably reluctant to see the passing of the Margaret Eaton School...."[22]

Lenskyj, in her dissertation, discusses MES several times. She acknowledges that aside from several free summer courses in physical culture offered at the University of Toronto, MES was the only option in Ontario for female teachers seeking physical education instruction. However, she argues that "although the existence of a predominantly female teacher training situation was potentially a progressive step towards promoting women's

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[21] Ibid.

[22] Maureen O'Bryan, "Physical Education--A Study of Professional Education in Ontario Universities," (Doctoral Thesis, University of Toronto, 1973), 117-118, 120, and 130-136.

sport and physical activity in Ontario, there is little to suggest that faculty or graduates saw this as a primary function of the school." Her Neo-Marxist analysis leads her to this conclusion on account of the involvement of some of Toronto's elite in the organization of MES; the elite included such people as Timothy Eaton and members of his family.[23] Lenskyj's conclusion may well be correct, but her argument rests on rather limited data.

In reviewing relevant books dealing with the history of sport, physical education, and education in Canada, one finds that a discussion of MES or some of its key figures, such as: Mrs. Emma Scott Raff-Nasmith, Mary Hamilton, Florence Somers, Dorothy Jackson ('27), or Shirley Naylor ('37), are dealt with in a line or two,[24] or not mentioned at all.[25] There are two

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[23] Helen Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education in the Socialization of Girls in Ontario, 1890-1930," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1983), 218-219.

[24] Charles Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada, (Toronto: W. J. Gage and Company, 1957): 384; John Eaton, "The Life and Professional Contributions of Arthur Stanley Lamb, M.D., to Physical Education in Canada," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1964): 133; Helen Bryans, "Secondary School Curriculum for Girls," in M.L. Van Vliet, Physical Education in Canada, (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1965): 130; Gurney, p. 4; Frank Cosentino and Maxwell Howell, A History of Physical Education in Canada, (Toronto: General Publishing Company, 1971), 31, 43, and 45; Deobold B. Van Dalen and Bruce L. Bennett, A World History of Physical Education, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1977), 554; and Gerald Glassford, "History of the Physical Activity Sciences," in Claude Bouchard, et al., (Editors), Physical Activity Sciences, (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1991), 12.

[25] Maxwell Howell and Reet Howell, History of Sport in Canada, (Champaign: Stipes, 1985); Nancy Howell and Maxwell Howell, Sports and Games in Canadian Life: 1700 to the Present, (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1969); Robert Barney, "Physical Education and Sport in North America," in Earle Zeigler (ed.), History of Physical Education and Sport, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1979); M. Ann Hall and Dorothy Richardson, Fair Ball: Towards Sex Equality in Canadian Sport, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1983); and Helen Lenskyj, Out of Bounds: Women, Sport and Sexuality, (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1986).

exceptions to this. Bray devotes a page and a half to Florence Somers, MES's final principal and one who was influential in the origin and development of the Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation (CAHPER).[26] The other exception is Gurney's book, The CAHPER STORY. Gurney makes note of an important event held at MES: "When 160 people met in Toronto at the Margaret Eaton School, the Canadian Physical Education Association was born on April 19, 1933."[27] She further notes some of the contributions of faculty and students of MES, particularly in relation to the Canadian Physical Education Association and mentions: Mary Hamilton, Florence Somers, Dorothy Jackson, Elizabeth Snell ('35), Leila Worthy ('24), and Flora Musgrave ('28).[28]

Though the above authors have discussed aspects of MES, a detailed history of this institution is lacking. This dissertation is a step in correcting that deficiency. This study will identify the important role a wealthy benefactor, Margaret Eaton, had on this institution, the type of students it attracted, the school's program, as well as MES's impact.

3. Questions

The broad intent of this dissertation is to make more

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[26] Maureen Bray, "The History of the Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, Incorporated," (Master's Thesis, University of Oregon, 1957), 149-150.

[27] Gurney, 1; and Fred Bartlett, "The Canadian Physical Education Association Comes Into Being," Bulletin of the Canadian Physical Education Association 1 (October 1933): 2.

[28] Gurney, 4, 13-14, 16, 20, 80, 82, and 188-190.

visible one aspect of the history of women in physical education in Canada. This dissertation both documents the events in the school's history and places this history in the context of changing social ideologies about women, about women in theatre, about women in physical education, and about women in sport in Canada from 1901-1941.[29]

An understanding of this institution is enhanced by examining various aspects of the School's history. The main components include the governance of the school, the aims and curriculum, the faculty, and the students.

The Board of Directors oversaw the School's direction and it is therefore important to understand the governance of the School. Understanding the role of the Board of Directors, plus the contributions and background of the individual directors--especially Margaret Eaton--helps clarify the nature of this facet of the School. It is of value to understand the selection, uses, possibilities, and lack of possibilities that the facilities imposed on the school.

The curriculum is key to understanding a school's focus. Important information can be gained in answering such questions as: What did it teach? When did it teach? How did it teach? Where did it teach? Who did it teach? Why did it teach?

The faculty is the conduit for passing on information, ideas, and values. A better understanding of them helps one fathom more clearly the nature of the educational process at the School.

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[29] Allison Mackinnon's second approach would be used as outlined in, "Women's Education: Linking History and Theory," History of Education Review 13, No. 2 (1984): 6.

Why did people choose to come to this School? Who went to this School? What was life like for them? What did they do once they graduated?

These are important questions to help understand the nature of the school, and the school's impact on society.

4. Methodology

This study examines MES from an historical perspective. This required reconstructing the essential elements of the school, with a particular focus on analysis of continuity and change from 1901 to 1941. These elements of the School include its governance, its mission and curriculum, its faculty, and its students. Since the School began in Victoria University, and Victoria's Chancellors Burwash and Bowles were both on the Board of the Directors of MES, several records in the Victoria Archives proved helpful.[30] Many of MES's records were stored in the Eaton Company Archives, and have recently been placed in the Ontario Archives. These records include financial ledgers, cashbooks,[31] and several miscellaneous files on MES;[32] other records were

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[30] Located in the following documents at VUA: Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash, Box 9, File 135, "The Margaret Eaton School," and Personal Papers of R.B. Bowles, "Baccalaureate Addresses."

[31] Located in AO-EC: Series 8, Box 11, File x8/4, "Assets;" Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924);" Financial statements, ledgers, journals, and cashbooks can be found in Series 22, Box 6-7; Series 127, Volumes 440-441, 694-695, and 735-743.

[32] Located in AO-EC: Series 8, Box 11, File x8/4, "1924-1929 Correspondence with Mrs. Nasmith;" Series 8, Box 11, File x8/4, "Assets;" Series 8, Box 11, File x8/4, "Margaret Eaton School Future Development;" Series 8, Box 11, File x8/4, "Property Leasing;" Series 8, Box 11, File x8/4, "Surrender of Charter;" Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence

destroyed.[33] The T. Eaton Company did retain some of its records in its Foundation office; these were examined.[34] Unfortunately, one memo noted that any records pertaining to the "School's curriculum, enrolment, activities, etc., and being of no use to us [Eaton's company], should be left at the school."[35] Since MES amalgamated with the University of Toronto, its Archives contain some documentation in the form of two scrapbooks about MES.[36] One of these contains various programs and Newsletters from 1938-1942. The other contains photographs, wedding and birth announcements from 1938-1950. Mrs. Osborne, secretary in the Physical Education Building at the University of Toronto, retains two important items. She has copies of the MES calendars (catalogues) for the years 1926-1932, 1934, 1936 and 1940. She also has a copy of an Alumnae list, dated 1953, which proved useful for locating Alumnae for questioning. In addition the Dora Mavor Moore Collection in the Rare Book Collection at the University of Toronto also contains some useful information. Mavor Moore ('11) was also an instructor at MES. Finally, the Metro Toronto Library holdings include several documents from

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Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924);" Series 162, Box 24, "Education--Margaret Eaton School--Press Clippings (1925-60);" Series 162, Box 24, "Education--Margaret Eaton School--School--Confidential (1925-1960);" and Series 162, Box 24, "Education--Margaret Eaton School--Theatre (1919-1926)."

[33] Margaret Eaton School, 1941, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Winding up."

[34] EFA, file named "Margaret Eaton School."

[35] J.W. Erwin to J. Elliott, September 9, 1941, AO-EC, Series 162, Box 24, F229-162-0-695, "Education--Margaret Eaton School--School--Confidential (1925-1960)."

[36] UTA-DPEA, A82-1134 and A87-0027/034.

MES.[37]

Besides the personal interview questionnaire (Appendix F2) interviewees were asked if they had any printed material about the school. Permission to photocopy such documents was requested. The questionnaire, with a covering letter (Appendix F1) was mailed to students not interviewed. The questionnaire helped collect some of the memories of students, and determine their background prior to entering MES, and what these students did when they left the School.

The Globe and Mail, and Saturday Night, Toronto newspapers, were reviewed around key dates plus the Saturday issues. The key dates included graduation, demonstrations, official functions and other reported events. The Saturday issues were selected because advertisements for educational institutions were placed in the Saturday issue. These advertisements often included invitations to coming events.

[37] Toronto Metro Reference Library, Theatre and Fine Arts Division, MESOLAE, The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, 1921; and Calendars, 1921, 1923, 1924, and 1925.

5. Justification

The main justification for this study is that MES had the only comprehensive physical education training program for women, in Canada, during 1900-1941. Furthermore, a number of writers refer to the school as important in the discussion of the history of physical education in Canada, yet no comprehensive history has been written on MES. Computer reviews of the Dissertation Abstracts International, the Education Resources Information Center, Canadian Periodical Index, and the Sport Information Resources Centre list no direct citations about this school. None of the bibliographies dealing with the history of education, particularly physical education, in Canada include any direct references to MES.[38]

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[38] In order of appearance, first there is Brehaut's 1958 listing of theses related to Ontario education for 1930-1955: "A Quarter Century of Canadian Theses in Education Related to the Province of Ontario," Ontario Journal of Educational Research 2 (1958-1959): 179-182; Eriksson, during the years 1958-1970, completed 12 listings of citations dealing with graduate research by Canadians on the topic of physical education [PE], these are found in the Journal for the Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation [CAHPER]: "Graduate Research by Canadians," CAHPER Journal, (November 1958): 31-32; (July 1959): 27-28; (February-March 1960): 9; (October-November 1960): 24 and 33; (June-July 1963): 26-28; (February-March 1964): 8-10 and 36; (February-March 1965): 11-15; (April-May 1966): 4 and 34; (June-July 1967): 37 and 39; (October-November 1968): 23-24, and (September-October 1970): 40-43; in 1965 Van Vliet provided citations: on "Graduate Theses and Projects by Canadians," Physical Education in Canada, (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1965): 306-315; Cosentino and Howell provided an excellent bibliography in their History of Physical Education in Canada, (Toronto: General Publishing Company Limited, 1970); there is Sawula's 1974 work for CAHPER: A Repository of Primary and Secondary Sources for Canadian History and Physical Education, (Ottawa: Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, 1974); there is Mutimer's 1975 compilation of work completed on the topic: "Canadian Graduating Essays, Theses and Dissertations Relating to the History and Philosophy of Sport, Physical Education and Recreation," Compiled for the History of Sport and Physical Activity Committee of the Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, 1975; and finally, there is Jesse Dossick's 1986 listing of Doctoral Research on Canada and Canadians, (Ottawa: National Library of

Since many graduates are getting older, the need to contact them was all the more urgent. The School's secretary, from 1926 to 1942, Charlotte Layton, died in the fall of 1989. She was considered by MES alumnae to be the "MES archivist."[39] Unfortunately, aside from a few address books which contain some addresses of MES graduates, all her papers have been discarded.[40] If this topic were delayed several years, a significant amount of information on this Canadian institution would have been lost.

6. Limitations

The unavailability of written materials and graduates of the School provide the main limitations on this study. There has been no central repository of the School's archives, and information needed to be gathered from many sources. Unfortunately, this means that some written material was not retrieved. Most of the early students of the school have probably died. Those students who are alive are scattered across Canada and the world. Finding their correct addresses depended in part on how strong the networking among alumnae remained. As it turned out the network between the classes of '39 and '41 were quite strong. In each case a current address list was acquired. No such address list could be obtained for the other years. Of the approximately 450 graduates of MES from 1901-1942, 89

Canada, 1986).

[39] "The MES Scene--April 1963," in a file of the author, received from Blanch Wellman Lynn.

[40] Interview with Dr. Norman MacGregor-Layton (brother to Charlotte Layton), and Charlotte McQuarrie (niece to Charlotte Layton), on 15 August 1991.

addresses were identified. As indicated on Table 1, the response rate was excellent: 72 graduates responded, for a response rate of 81 per cent. This speaks well for the commitment and interest these women have in MES. Those that were interviewed are identified with an "I" preceding their name in Appendix G2.

Table 1

MES Graduates Response to Interviews and Questionnaires

Grad Year	Asked	Responded	%	Grad Year	Asked	Responded	%
1922	2	2	100	1933	-	-	-
1923	-	-	-	1934	2	2	100
1924	-	-	-	1935	1	1	100
1925	4	4	100	1936	6	6	100
1926	-	-	-	1937	3	3	100
1927	1	1	100	1938	4	2	50
1928	1	1	100	1939	21	18	86
1929	3	2	67	1940	5	4	80
1930	-	-	-	1941	24	15	63
1931	-	-	-	1942	12	11	92
1932	-	-	-				

Total Asked = 89

Total Responded = 72

Percent Response = 81

Further interviews included two University of Toronto

Graduates (1944 and 1945) who began their program when MES was merged with the university.[41] Also interviewed were seven women who camped at Camp Tanamakoon, which was begun by Mary Hamilton, and often staffed by MES students and graduates,[42] and finally, two relatives of the school's last secretary.[43] Personal and phone interviews were limited to those graduates permitting an interview and living within a one hour drive of Hamilton. Those who are the only representative for their class were interviewed by phone. All other graduates and people associated with the School were contacted by mail.

7. Organization

The present chapter provides the introduction to this study. Chapter Two provides an historical context for the School. This chapter, based on secondary sources, comments on Canadian culture as it affects women, particularly in terms of the Little Theatre movement, physical education, and sport. Chapter Three discusses the first period from 1901-1906 when MES was known as the "School of Expression." Chapters Four and Five deal with the second period from 1906-1926 when MES was known as the "Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression." Chapter Four deals with the school's governance, and Chapter Five deals with the school's

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[41] Interviewed Mrs. Kenning, August 5, 1991, and Pat Flynn MacKeigan, August 14, 1991, by the author.

[42] Interviews with Gwynneth Sinclair Powell, Nadine Ysaye Mosbaugh, Helen Hobbs Wheplton, Margaret Seixas McLeod, Mary Palmer Worts, and Graham Stewart, by the author, September 2, 1991.

[43] Interviewed Dr. Norman MacGregor-Layton, and Charlotte McQuarrie, by the author, August 15, 1991.

curriculum, faculty, and students. Chapter Six deals with the school's final period, 1926-1942, when the school was known as the "Margaret Eaton School," and Chapter Seven deals with the school's demise. A conclusion to this study is provided. In addition, an Appendix includes such items as: the 1922 Physical Education Program Description, the MES Bylaws, Scholarships and Prizes, List of Fees, List of Faculty, Interview Questionnaire, Margaret Eaton Alumnae Lists, and a poem by Elizabeth Wardley.

Chapter Two: Women in Canadian Theatre, Physical Education and Sport

MES' focus on theatre and physical education will be discussed in subsequent chapters. The purpose of the present chapter is to discuss aspects of Canadian culture, including the Little Theatre movement, physical education and sports, within which the school was situated. MES's history spans 1901-1942. Therefore, it was thought helpful to analyze the period just prior to the opening of the school until 1942. Secondary sources describing the Little Theatre movement, physical education and sport during this period, provide the data for this chapter.

8. The Little Theatre Movement

The Little Theatre movement began in Europe in the 1880's. It was largely amateur and nationalistic. In Canada, it sought to begin "the process of reclaiming the theatre in Canada from foreign domination."[1] It has been argued that at the beginning of the twentieth century,

> many Canadians were no longer content to remain passive consumers of American and British commercial theatre. They wanted to create their own productions, particularly classics of world drama ignored by commercial producers, and plays written by Canadians with Canadian settings, characters, and subject matter."[2]

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[1] David Gardner, "Little Theatre and Amateur Theatre," The Oxford Companion to Canadian Theatre, Eds. Eugene Benson and L.W. Conolly, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989), 301-309.

[2] Anton Wagner, "Ontario, Theatre in," The Oxford Companion to Canadian Theatre, Ed. Eugene Benson and L.W. Conolly, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989), 399.

Benson and Conolly argue that a "seminal organization in the development of new principles and objectives for Canadian theatre was the Arts and Letters Players of Toronto... founded in 1908."[3] Eventually hundreds of small amateur theatres were created throughout Canada. Toronto's Hart House Theatre was opened in 1919 and was considered the "Flagship of Canada's Little Theatre movement."[4]

The second director of Hart House was Bertram Forsyth, who was to become principal at MES for the school year 1925-1926. He had studied drama and mime in Oxford, and had played with well known theatre companies such as the Benson Shakespearean Company.[5]

How truly Canadian these theatres were is questionable, as one writer noted: "Canada's first directors emerged in the Little Theatre Movement, especially between the first and Second World Wars. At their best, the Little Theatres imitated the aesthetics and ideals of European prototypes."[6]

But where does MES fit into this movement? The common approach has been to ignore MES and begin with the Arts and Letters Club. But Plant gives MES an early place in this history and argues that "various initiatives helped shape a more

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[3] Eugene Benson and L.W. Conolly, English-Canadian Theatre, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1987), 45.

[4] David Gardner, "Little Theatre and Amateur Theatre," 304; and Raymond Card, "Drama in Toronto: The Forgotten Years 1919-1939," English Quarterly 6, No. 1 (Spring 1973): 67.

[5] Raymond Card, "Drama in Toronto: The Forgotten Years 1919-1939," English Quarterly 6, No. 1 (Spring 1973): 70.

[6] Harry Lane, "Directing," The Oxford Companion to Canadian Theatre, Ed. Eugene Benson and L.W. Conolly, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989), 139.

supportive context for the Canadian dramatist. In 1906 the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression in Toronto began to offer formal instruction in drama: Dora Mavor Moore was among its early graduates."[7] Wagner supports Plant, and goes even further to suggest that MES marks the beginning of the Little Theatre movement in Toronto:

> Its production of works from the Irish Literary movement, directed by Mrs. Scott Raff, mark the beginning of the Little Theatre movement in the city.... At a time when there was no direct government support of the arts, patronage by wealthy Ontario families such as the Eatons and the Masseys played a major part in encouraging indigenous artistic self-expression."[8]

Others note that as early as 1905, "Toronto's Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression emulated the Irish Literary Movement by staging plays by William Butler Yeats and Lady Gregory."[9] In fact, Emma Scott Raff was one of

> the first to present in this country the plays of W. B. Yeats, Lady Gregory and other pioneers of Irish literacy theatre, also those of Tagone. It was with two of Yeat's most exquisite plays that her School won the Earl Grey Dramatic Trophy in 1910. When Hart House Theatre was established after the great war, its forces were in part recruited from young men and women trained under her....[10]

Unfortunately, MES's contribution to this movement has

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[7] Richard Plant, "Drama in English," The Oxford Companion to Canadian Theatre, Ed. Eugene Benson and L.W. Conolly, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989), 139.

[8] Anton Wagner, "Ontario, Theatre in," The Oxford Companion to Canadian Theatre, Ed. Eugene Benson and L.W. Conolly, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989), 399.

[9] Harry Lane, "Directing," The Oxford Companion to Canadian Theatre, Ed. Eugene Benson and L.W. Conolly, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989), 139; George Nasmith, Timothy Eaton, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1923), 270-272; and "Canadian Women in the Public Eye," Saturday Night (11 September 1920): 26.

[10] "Art and Literary Leader Mrs. George Nasmith Dies," The Evening Telegram (17 February 1940): 3.

received little attention.[11] More typical is some of the earlier works that choose to ignore MES, or make scant mention of the school. An example of the latter is Saddlemyer's four-hundred page book that only mentions MES in one sentence in a chronological list.[12]

Perhaps MES received scant attention in this discussion because it was thought to rely heavily on classical, English, and European writings, but so did Hart House.[13] Therefore one might raise the question: was MES disqualified because it was a school for women as opposed to the Arts and Letters Club, and Hart House, which were devoted to men?

9. Physical Education

There were very marked changes in the growth of Physical Education, not only as it applied to women. Parallel to the growth in public schooling, contemporary physical education grew from an insignificant portion of the curriculum to a specialized field and being a required course in the curriculum of schools.

With industrialization, urbanization, and increasing wealth in Canada, came the need for schools and further democratization of life. According to sport historian Hall, the 1880's and 90's "witnessed many middle-class women in Canada become involved in social reform and many more in the suffrage movement. Through

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[11] Although recently Heather Murray from Trinity College in Toronto has begun to address the theatrical history of MES.

[12] Ann Saddlemyer, (Editor) Early Stages: Theatre in Ontario 1800-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 342.

[13] Benson and Conolly, 45.

suffrage they sought the power to achieve reforms in family, property, and labor laws which affected women and children."[14]

During the late nineteenth century clothing was hardly conducive to exercise for girls and women, who were described by Dr. Jesse Feiring Williams as having "a well developed headache and a poorly developed body."[15] Just before the turn of the century the divided skirts or bloomers and middy blouses became more popular.[16]

At the time of Confederation, in 1867, Physical Education was commonly referred to simply as gymnastics or calisthenics. The course was intended to be "a systematic and well developed course in exercises [that] would produce trained symmetrical body development with strength and grace." The focus gradually changed to physical development, the activities were more formalized, and the name changed to physical training.[17] By the 1900's, with the inclusion of more aesthetic and intellectual activities, such as dance and sports, the course was referred to as Physical Culture.[18] The activities for girls during this period reflect Catherine Beecher's modifications of European exercises. The content of the girls classes included "free

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[14] M. Anne Hall, "Women, Sport and Feminism: Some Canadian and Australian Comparisons," The Australasian Nurses Journal 9, No. 5 (April 1980): 24.

[15] Helen Bryans, "Secondary School Curriculum for Girls," in M.L. Van Vliet, Physical Education in Canada, (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1965), 132.

[16] Bryans, 133.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Helen Gurney, Girls' Sports: A Century of Progress in Ontario High Schools, (Don Mills, Ontario: OFSAA Publications, nd.), 14.

exercise without apparatus, and light gymnastics which are exercises without apparatus, and light gymnastics which are exercises with light apparatus such as dumbbells, bean bags, wands, rings and clubs."[19]

According to Bryans, a pioneer in teacher education for women physical educators, the first official recognition given physical education by the Ontario government was in 1884 when it unsuccessfully provided limited grants for "worthy" high schools and collegiate institutes.[20] In 1886, E.B. Houghton's, Physical Culture, became the authorized text. This book encouraged the use of drill for boys and calisthenics for girls, emphasizing that "accuracy and promptness should characterize every movement."[21] Bryans suggested that in 1890 the Ontario government took its most important step, making physical education a required course. The government stipulated that schools should allot "a minimum time of an hour and a half a week for drill, gymnastics, and calisthenics, not less than one additional hour each week for `other forms.'" Though these regulations were not enforced, by 1894, 57 per cent of students took calisthenics, a sharp increase from only 32 per cent at the time the regulation was enacted.[22] The first woman physical educator in Canada was, according to Gurney, Nora Cleary, who introduced Basketball to the border city Windsor in 1899.[23]

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[19] Bryans, 126-127.

[20] Only $50,000 was spent over a 20 year period. Bryans, 125-126.

[21] Gurney, (nd.), 14.

[22] Bryans, 125-126.

[23] Gurney, (nd.), 15.

The formative years for the development of physical education were at the end of the nineteenth century. It took time to change the systematic and rigidly controlled development of students. This controlled approach was pervasive in its influence, even among feminists of the time. Vertinsky argues that:

> the attitude that physical education could be a useful aid in purifying the body as house to the soul had become well established in the nineteenth century mind. Feminist groups played a large part in disseminating and perpetuating the idea that organized sport, physical education and guided recreation were excellent techniques for working off sexual urges, preparing for robust motherhood and developing that evanescent but essential quality for self-control--"character."[24]

Calisthenics continued to be the focus of the girls' curriculum well into the 1920's. Bryans notes:

> For those who can remember, it [this time period] calls up a picture of girls and women in voluminous bloomers to the knees, middies, and long black stockings, moving through elaborate routines with clubs, and contortions with wands; of lunging, bending, and twisting. For displays, the apparatus was frequently colored, bedecked with flowers, streamers, or lights.[25]

But there were also some changes. Classic or aesthetic dance, as opposed to dance with "fancy steps with little action," was developed by Melvin Ballou Gilbert under the encouragement of Dr. Sargent at Harvard, and spread to Canada through influential people such as Ada Seikle.[26] These dances were developed simultaneously with the practice of national and folk dances,

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[24] Patricia Vertinsky, "The Effect of Changing Attitudes Toward Sexual Morality Upon the Promotion of Physical Education for Women in Nineteenth Century America," in, R. Howell, (ed.), 174.

[25] Bryans, 127.

[26] Seikle taught dance for several years in summer courses for teachers. Bryans, 129-130.

particularly by such people as Somers, instructor at the Normal Model School in Toronto.[27] Games were introduced into the school curriculums as well as in the program of training for teachers.[28]

A significant development in this period is the formation of the Strathcona Trust Fund in 1911. Lord Strathcona, Canada's high commissioner to Britain and a wealthy businessman, provided a $500,000 trust fund to assist provincial schools in the development of physical training programs with a decidedly military focus.[29] The system of exercises prescribed in this program have been described as essentially a "watered-down version of Swedish exercises, performed in response to command, with emphasis on precision, uniformity of movement, straight lines, squared corners, and tensed muscles. There were movements for each part of the body, performed in an unalterable sequence."[30] The grants per school were relatively small and did little for the development of girls' physical education. As Lenskyj notes:

> since 50 per cent of the amount had to be used for military drill and rifle shooting, the benefits to girls' physical education were halved at the outset." Patriotic fervour during the war years contributed to the tendency to equate physical education to military drill, and the resulting approach to teaching was of limited value to either girls or boys.... Thus, for girls' physical education, the Strathcona System served merely to entrench sex-differentiated programs

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[27] Somers is no relation to Florence Somers, later to be principal of MES. Bryans, 130.

[28] Bryans, 131; and Gurney, (nd.), 15.

[29] Cosentino, F. and M. Howell, A History of Physical Education in Canada, (Toronto: General Publishing Company, 1971): 26-29.

[30] Bryans, 127.

and a militaristic approach to physical training.[31]

Or as Lenskyj states in her dissertation, the Strathcona program "permitted the reduction of girls' activities to joyless, formal calisthenics."[32] Though there was movement away from the rigidity of the Strathcona system, interest in fitness spurned on by the World War I revived interest in that type of exercise increased.[33]

The belief was that the reproductive health of a woman was of tantamount importance to understanding the role of a woman and her involvement in physical activity, sport, government or anything else.[34] Leading feminists shared this view saying:

> The fundamental difference between the two sexes is one reason why both are needed to govern. Man makes everything else, but woman makes man. Each cares for his or her product supremely. Man is delighted with his sixteen-story building or his invention. His creation is dear because of what it cost him in sweat and sorrow. So woman cares for her child.[35]

Change did take place, and has been described differently by different writers. The increased formalization of physical education instruction was seen by the feminist historian Lenskyj, as "signifying the public takeover of aspects of gender-role socialization formerly entrusted to the private family, and the

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[31] H. Lenskyj, "Femininity First: Sport and Physical Education for Ontario Girls, 1890-1930," Canadian Journal of History of Sport 13 (December 1982): 9; and H. Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education in the Socialization of Girls in Ontario," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1983), 216-217.

[32] Lenskyj, (1983), 220.

[33] Bryans, 127.

[34] Lenskyj, (1982): 4.

[35] Laura McCully, "What Women Want," Maclean's Magazine (January 1912): 281; and Marian Pitters, "Women's Participation in Sporting Activities as an Indicator of a Feminist Movement in Canada Between 1867 and 1914," 152.

entrenchment of a sex-differentiated curriculum."[36] This conclusion is not surprising since in her doctoral dissertation, the first on the history of women and physical education in Canada, she was looking for "ways in which school physical education programs served hegemonic interests by confirming and perpetuating sex differentiation in sport."[37] Perhaps one finds what one is looking for. But the same is true of a Whig historian, such as Bryans, who credits the changing curricular content to a "revolt from the Victorian past."[38]

Of special interest to this period is the beginning of three institutions offering instruction for those interested in teaching physical education. The topic of higher education in physical education has received little attention in the literature. There are three dissertations[39], a thesis dealing with related topics[40] and two dissertations deal specifically with a history of higher education in physical education in Ontario and, to a lesser degree, in British Columbia.[41] Books on the

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[36] Lenskyj, (1982): 4.

[37] Lenskyj, (1983), 30.

[38] Bryans, 132.

[39] Maureen Bray, "The History of the Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation," (Master's Thesis, University of Oregon, 1957); John Douglas Eaton, "The Life and Professional Contributions of Arthur Stanley Lamb, M.D. to Physical Education in Canada," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1964); and H. Lenskyj, (1983).

[40] A. Mercier, "Education Physique dans les Universites Canadiennes Francaises," (Master's Thesis, University of Montreal, 1947).

[41] William F.R. Kennedy, "A History of Professional Preparation in Health, Physical Education, and Recreation in Canada," (Ed.D. Project Report, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1956); and Maureen Hazel O'Bryan, "Physical Education: A Study of Professional Preparation Programs in Ontario Universities," (Ph.D. Dissertation,

topic are even more scarce. Cosentino and Howell's book is the only one devoted to a history of physical education in Canada. Unfortunately, they devote only two pages to the history of institutions providing teacher preparation in physical education.[42] Other less closely related books avoid the issue all together.[43] The nation's first program for preparing Physical Education teachers was the Hamilton School of Physical Culture. The Springfield Y.M.C.A. in Massachusetts provided the model for the school. Unfortunately, the school was short-lived: 1889-1913.[44] The University of Toronto followed in 1900 with a diploma course for Gymnastics and Physical Drill for men in 1900; a women's course was added in 1901. This program was not well received, and there were few graduates from this program.[45] A third diploma course in physical education began to be offered by MES. In MES's history it offered one to three year diplomas in physical education for women. During its forty-one year history, 1901-1942, it graduated over 250 women in physical education, averaging approximately fifteen graduates per year for its last

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University of Toronto, 1973).

[42] Frank Cosentino and Maxwell Howell, A History of Physical Education in Canada, (Toronto: General Publishing Company, 1971), 30-31, & 35.

[43] Emmet Rice, et al., A Brief History of Physical Education, (New York: The Ronald Press, 1958); Nancy Howell and Maxwell Howell, Sports and Games in Canadian Live: 1700 to the Present, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1969); and Earle Zeigler, (ed.) History of Physical Education and Sport, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1979).

[44] Kennedy, 39-44; and Cosentino and Howell, 30.

[45] Kennedy, 44-48; and Cosentino and Howell, 30.

fifteen years.[46] Though Gurney suggested that during the years 1916-1941, MES "made a major impact on physical education for girls and women in Canada,"[47] Lenskyj felt MES had too much of a "preoccupation with `personal culture,' or `true womanhood.'"[48] Following this sudden surge of program development at the turn of the century, no new program opened till 1941. In that year, MES amalgamated with the University of Toronto and the nation's first program towards a Bachelor's degree in physical education was established.[49] The fourth diploma course was offered in 1919, at McGill University. Its student body, predominantly female, was similar in number to MES. It ran a somewhat similar program--and financial deficits--to that of MES, except that in 1933 it increased its entrance requirements to include one year of University training.[50] The lack of post-secondary training in physical education forced many Canadians to study in the United States. This would later, particularly in the Thirties, have a significant affect on the lack of development of competitive sport for women.[51]

The Roaring Twenties witnessed a shortening of the bloomers, and their replacement with skirts, shorts, knickers, tunics, and

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[46] Kennedy, 48-53; Cosentino and Howell, 30-31; and Dorothy Jackson, A Brief History of Three Schools, (Toronto: T. Eaton Company, 1953).

[47] Helen Gurney, The CAHPER Story, (Ottawa: The Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, 1982), 4.

[48] Lenskyj, 218.

[49] Kennedy, 106-108.

[50] Eaton, "The Life and Professional Contributions of Arthur Stanley Lamb, M.D., to Physical Education in Canada," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1964), 103-130.

[51] Hall, 25.

occasionally leotards.[52] The rigidity and militarism of the Strathcona system met with increased opposition in the Twenties, and gradually during this time more games were included in the curriculum.[53] A 1920 report from the Minister of Education argued that "The value of play as a factor in intellectual and moral education--perhaps even in physical education--has not been fully recognized. Its full meaning and significance for life is one of the lessons of the war which has also strangely taught us to place less reliance than formally on military drill and exercises."[54] Though there were others that were "not at all sure that the more robust games for girls are of benefit either to the individual woman or the future of the race."[55]

Bryans attributes the move towards more apparatus work for girls to the introduction of gymnasium costumes. The Bjorksten and Bukh exercises were used, reflecting the Swedish approach.[56] In addition, some ballet was introduced in aesthetic dance sessions. This was influenced by Louis Chalif, a Russian dance teacher in New York, who developed a five volume work of national and folk dances. Clog and Tap dances were also popularized, primarily through the work of Hinman, Frost, Hillas, and Druggan.[57] Elizabeth Burchenal and Cecil Sharpe also often visited Canada from the United States, and provided many

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[52] Bryans, 133.

[53] Lenskyj, (1982): 9.

[54] Bryans, 131.

[55] Bryans, 133.

[56] Bryans, 128.

[57] Bryans, 130.

workshops on folk, or character dancing. Burchenal wrote ten volumes on folk dancing.[58]

Swimming was another activity that received greater attention. The first swimming pool was built in Ontario in 1920 and many more followed. Bryans noted that the primary emphasis of the swimming programs was "on teaching beginners to swim, on water safety, and on life-saving methods. Hundreds of pupils are qualified annually for Canadian Red Cross and Royal Canadian Life Saving Certificates."[59]

Gurney notes that it was "not until 1925 that women began to consider physical culture as a full-time profession in the high schools." She adds, that

> most women teachers who were interested in sports as students chose to take some training at the Ontario College of Education at the same time as they were taking their teaching certification. The majority of these women were Honour graduates in an academic subject; thus they began to teach their specialty along with Physical Culture.[60]

The first full-time professor of physical education at the Ontario College of Education was Helen Bryans, who began in 1929.[61]

The first professional physical education association in Canada was formed in 1923 by Dr. A.S. Lamb and Ethel Cartwright from McGill University in Montreal. The forming of the Quebec Physical Education Association later provided the impetus for the

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[58] Bryans, 130.

[59] Bryans, 132.

[60] Gurney, (nd.), 15.

[61] Gurney, (nd.), 15.

development of a national organization.[62]

Hall argues that although there were some improvements for women, change was slow. She notes that by 1921 only 15.5 per cent of the labour force consisted of women, and only three per cent of married women worked outside of the home. When they were employed, they were ghettoized into personal and domestic service as teachers, nurses, clerical workers, sales ladies, or employees in the clothing industry. This work was carefully monitored so that the work or educational experiences did not "destroy her maternal instincts."[63]

In the early Thirties, following a 1931 North American tour of a Niels Buhk Folk High School group, from Olerup, Denmark, Swedish gymnastics was replaced with Danish Gymnastics.[64] Lenskyj argues that the speed at which these changes were made, "suggests that girls' physical education curriculum was subject to ad hoc changes rather than rational planning to meet educational priorities and goals."[65] Bryans also argues that there was a movement during this period away from the militarism and formalism of the previous approaches. She adds that the new approaches

> were developed primarily for women and girls, not only for their beneficial physiological effects but also for their contribution to such feminine qualities as grace, poise, sensitivity, and rhythm. They are freer, more natural, flowing, and expressive... with flowing swings, less localized and more natural

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[62] Ibid.

[63] Hall, 25.

[64] C.R. Blackstock, "The Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation," in M.L. Van Vliet, (ed.), Physical Education in Canada, (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1965), 279.

[65] Lenskyj, (1982): 9.

> movements, exhilarating and imaginative in their use of balls, clubs, hoops, and percussive accompaniment.[66]

Furthermore, modern dance was also included, which, according to Bryans, "knows no restrictions of technique and has no limits to the creative and expressive use of movement." This approach was developed by Mary Wigman, a student of the German instructor, Laban.[67] The Thirties also marked an increase in play and recreational activities. Blackstock suggests that the Y.M.C.A. led the way in this respect.[68]

During this period educators began increasingly to recognize health education, physical education and recreation education as legitimate parts of the total curriculum. Since there was still limited opportunity for training in this field many continued to go to the United States for post-secondary specialization in physical education.[69] This did not change until the Forties when programs were begun at the University of Toronto, McGill University, and the University of British Columbia.[70] The educational nature of this course of study was emphasized further, and the terms "Health Education" and "Physical Education" came into current use. In the early 1940's the Ontario Department of Education officially adopted the term "Physical and Health Education."[71]

From an organizational perspective, one of the more

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[66] Bryans, 127.

[67] Bryans, 128.

[68] Blackstock, (1965), 279.

[69] Blackstock, (1965), 278.

[70] Blackstock, (1965), 279.

[71] Gurney, (nd.), 14.

important events of the Thirties was the formation of the Canadian Physical Education Association (CPEA). Lamb, Cartwright, and Mary Hamilton were instrumental in forming this organization which had its formative convention in April, 1933, at MES.[72]

10. Sports

The opportunities for women in sports went through a process of remarkable change. Essentially women moved from being spectators in the nineteenth century to participants in almost every sport at almost all levels, by the 1920's. This was met with some retrenchment in the Thirties when opportunities for women were lost because of increased interest in commercialized sports for men.

Hall argues that in the 1880's and 1890's one can see

> the real beginning of women's sport in Canada; everything that had gone on before was merely a prelude with its purpose not in exercise but innocent amusement. There was a revolution in women's fashions, the new styles often an indirect outcome of participation in vigorous activity. the day of the hoops, crinolines, and voluminous coverings was over, and in their place came the bicycle skirt, the bloomer costume, and the golf suit; ladies' sportswear had finally become necessary and fashionable.[73]

Prior to this time some women were involved in fox hunting, tobogganing, ice skating, roller skating, snow shoeing, and croquet. But often their participation was as a spectator or passive participant. Moreover, as Hall suggests, a game such as croquet offered unprecedented "courting and matchmaking

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[72] Blackstock, 276-277.

[73] Hall, 24.

qualities."[74] Hall argues that the "great liberator," was the safety bicycle.[75]

But by the 1880's, Hall claims, "[t]here was tremendous growth in organizations and clubs, sport being no exception."[76] This was especially the case in Eastern Canada where urbanization accommodated the organization of such clubs.[77] One such club was the Alpine Club, which women could join without the support of a man; this was not the case in other alpine clubs in Europe.[78] Wood lists several examples of the types of clubs formed, such as "Girl Guides, Canadian Girls in Training, various church clubs, the Women's Institute...."[79] However, Pitters in her analysis of the emergent growth of sport for women in Montreal from 1876 to 1914 concluded that: "any increase in the number of women's sporting competitions in Montreal can be discounted by the coexistent increase in Montreal's population."[80]

One organization of special note is the Y.W.C.A. Wood refers to the Y.W.C.A.'s record as "outstanding," and that its "soundly constructed and wisely administered programs commands special tribute."[81] This organization begun operating during this

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[74] Hall, 24; and W.E. Wood, "Physical Education and Recreation for Girls and Women," in, Van Vliet, M.L. (ed.), Physical Education in Canada, (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1965), 170.

[75] Wood, 157.

[76] Hall, 24.

[77] Hall, 24.

[78] Wood, 157.

[79] Wood, 157.

[80] Pitters, "Participation..." 144.

[81] Wood, 157.

time in two houses in Toronto, with the financial assistance of men.[82]

Some of the women's activities included pedestrianism,[83] fancy skating, and special feats such as that of one Montreal woman who "took a month to finish 3,000 quarter miles in the same number of quarter hours."[84] But women also pursued more common sports such as ice hockey, field hockey, camping and canoeing.[85]

Malkovich and Savage note that:

> The first organized women's hockey game on record anywhere took place in Barrie, Ontario in 1892. At that time, hockey was not considered a sport suitable for women. Nevertheless, they laced up their skates and played hockey in spite of public opposition and with less than perfect equipment. They wore ankle length skirts, heavy sweaters and figure skates.[86]

Field hockey was similar, though it was considered a more acceptable women's sport. The first such hockey club was the Vancouver Ladies Hockey Club founded in 1896. Donegani writes that

> their annual events included games against the Ladies Hockey Clubs of Victoria, Nanaimo and Wellington. Apparently the occasional match would be played with the Men's Club as a special event. In these early years the ladies wore ankle-length skirts, starched long-sleeved blouses and neck ties while practising and playing.[87]

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[82] Joyce McCart, "Courting the YWCA: The fight for male suffrage in the women"s Y," Branching Out (September-October 1975): 8-9.

[83] "Pedestrianism in Perry Hall," Branching Out (July/August 1976): 34-35; and Pitters, "Participation...." 144-145.

[84] B. Mann & P. O'Neil, "Corsets Unlaced, the Beginning of Women in Sport," Branching Out (July/August 1976): 32-35.

[85] Wood, 156.

[86] R.G. Malkovich & M.P. Savage, "A Stride Ahead: Canadian Women's Hockey," Goal (April 1987): 25-26.

[87] Eric Donegani, "Brief History of Hockey in Canada," Canadian Field Hockey News, (Summer 1976): 3.

Many of these women athletes looked even comical playing dressed in a crinoline, but as Mann and O'Neil point out, as "quaint as our athletic foremothers may appear to us now, they were pioneers who often suffered ridicule simply for displaying spirit and physical energy."[88]

There was also a proliferation of important non-sport organizations that women began at this time. Many of these were drawn into the reform movement, and included such organizations as: The Women's Christian Temperance Union in 1883 (WCTU), the National Council of Women of Canada in 1893 (NCWC), and the Women's Institutes in 1897. Some of the reforms they sought were for better access to play opportunities for the poor, and they served an important role in the vacation school and playground movement. By way of critique of their work, the feminist Veronica Strong-Boag notes that their "[a]ppeals to a patriotic feminism faced on the ambitions of a middle-class, eastern-based, and English-Canadian group proved insufficient. Unfortunately, the nation's women discovered no more acceptable advocate in the years of the Council's decline."[89]

Spears suggests that the stereotype of a sportswoman, at the turn-of-the-century, was someone who was upper-class, young, and defied "convention on the golf course, tennis court, or, perhaps on a basketball court at college."[90] Others would support her

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[88] Mann, 32-35.

[89] Veronica Strong-Boag, "The Roots of Canadian Feminism: The National Council of Women, 1893-1929," Canada 3, No. 2 (December 1975): 23 & 33; and Elsie M. McFarland, The Development of Public Recreation in Canada, (Ottawa: Canadian Parks/Recreation Association, 1970): 19 & 38.

[90] B. Spears, "Mary, Mary, Quite Contrary: Why do Women Play?" Canadian Journal of History of Sport 28 (May 1987): 73.

suggestion, though there are some minor exceptions. For example, Mary Vaux and Mary Schaffer did extensive mountain climbing in the Rockies, hardly a stereotypical woman's sport, but they were upper-class women.[91]

The changes in clothing for women, with the accompanying increase in involvement in calisthenics, was followed "inevitably on its heels" with competition. Basketball was one sport that drew "a tremendous number of female enthusiasts." But this enthusiastic participation did not go without warnings from the male experts. Griffiths argues that Dr. Dudley Sargent "expressed the popular view," namely,

> that physical activity for a women should reflect her gentler nature. "Let her know enough about the rougher sport to be the sympathetic admirer of men and boys in their efforts to be strong, vigorous and heroic.... A woman's heart naturally goes out to the competitor, and she looks to him instinctively for protection. So a man's heart will always respond to the trusting helplessness of women.[92]

But women did begin to increase their involvement in competitive sport during this period. Competitive events began to be held for women in curling (1894), golf (1900), ice hockey (1902), skiing (1909), swimming (1909), and badminton (1914).[93] And as Hall argues,

> Throughout the early 1900's and in both countries [Canada and the United States], the so-called "modern" woman, no longer bound by Victorian ideas and voluminous skirts but still hesitant to show her ankles, ventured into every conceivable form of physical activity. The only sports which remained forbidden were those where body contact was possible, and if an invasion was imminent, the men made rules to

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[91] Spears, 73.

[92] A. Griffiths, "They Who Risked Their Delicate Organs," Branching Out 5, No. 4 (1978): 12-13.

[93] Pitters, "Participation...." 144-147.

> prevent it... the modern sportswoman had become a reality by World War I.[94]

Competitive field hockey continued out west and was introduced to Vancouver high school students in 1902. The first inter-school competition took place in 1905 in Vancouver.[95] Some even entered track and field in such events as high jump. Though, as one writer wondered, how they "cleared the bar with a billowing skirt is one of the mysteries of life."[96]

Pitters argues that when women infiltrated the man's world of sports they challenged behavioral norms and consequently the very structures of society. She then suggests that

> Men employed humour as one means of sanctioning the defiant behaviour of women involved in any aspect of sport that was outside the boundaries which they had defined as acceptable. They ridiculed woman by stereotyping her as a frolicking, physically inferior, outlandishly attired simpleton. This was tame when compared to the characteristic attributed to the serious participant. She was deemed masculine.[97]

Organized camping was also developed during this period by such organizations as the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., schools, Boy Scouts, and churches. Most camps had Christian content and held to a philosophy in which the "individual was recognized as unique, should have more choice in what he wanted to do or become, that he should be responsible for his own actions and

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[94] Hall, 25.

[95] Donegani, 3 & 15.

[96] Cecil Smith, "High Jumping: In Defiance of Gravity," Track and Field Journal (June 1983): 15.

[97] Marian Pitters, "An Analysis of Humour Pertaining to Sportswomen in American Newspapers, Between 1910 and 1920," In Reet Howell, Her Story in Sport: An Historical Anthology of Women in Sports, (West Point: Leisure Press, 1982), 232.

take the consequences."[98]

The only national sports organization for women was the Canadian Ladies Golf Union (CLGU), formed in 1913. More typically, women included themselves under other sport governing bodies or as branches of men's organizations.[99] The CLGU lasted only two years, suspending activity with the advent of World War I.[100]

Hall suggests that during the war years, participation in sport was almost completely abandoned by women. Pitters tends to agree but does suggest that a possible outcome of the war "may have been a greater tolerance of woman's involvement in sport, and a movement away from some of the traditional values."[101]

Pitters may well have been correct in her assessment of the impact of World War I, since there was a large increase in competitive opportunities for women and many more women participated during the Twenties. Hall, in her description of this period, states: "[a]lthough this is probably an overstatement in some ways, it is correct. It was an era when Canada produced world champion speedskaters, basketball teams, marathon swimmers, and dominated women's track and field at the

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[98] C.R. Blackstock, "Camping... Our Past, Present and Future," Canadian Camping 30 (May 1978): 3; and Gerald P. Burns, "A Short History of Camping and the American Camping Association," The Camping Magazine 19 (February 1949): 15, 17 & 19.

[99] Wood, 162.

[100] S.L. Mitchell, "Organizational Development of Women's Competitive Sport in Canada in the 1920's," (Master's thesis, University of Windsor, 1977); and S.L. Mitchell, "The Development of Women's Organized Sport in the 1920's: A Study of the Canadian Ladies Golf Union," in R. Howell (ed.), Her Story in Sport: An Historical Anthology of Women in Sports (West Point: Leisure Press, 1982), 565.

[101] Pitters, "Humour...." 232.

1928 summer Olympics in Amsterdam."[102] This period has been labelled the "Golden Age" for women in Canadian sport,[103] at least in Central Canada, which tended to set the pattern for the rest of the nation.[104] Two groups of people deserve special mention in this regard, the first is the Edmonton Grads basketball team, the second is the women's team that went to the 1928 Olympics.

In 1919, the CLGU was re-established and governed and promoted women's golf. These women golfers, coming from "the upper middle-strata of Canadian society,"[105] organized their championships using match play which involved a "a one-on-one confrontation between players in a manner that was enjoyable yet maintained the element of a contest...."[106] Though an elite organization, Mitchell argues that it "affected the development of competitive sport for women during this period."[107] One woman golfer who deserves special mention is Ada MacKenzie. She was recognized as the best female golfer in the country in the Twenties, having won numerous national and other tournaments.[108] She also launched, "virtually single-handedly, the first golf

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[102] Hall, 25; and D. McDonald, "20's and 30's Were the Golden Age: Women and Sport in Canada," Champion 5, No. 1 (March 1981): 4.

[103] Howell and Howell, 154

[104] R.S. Lappage, "Sport as an Expression of Western and Maritime Discontent in Canada Between the Wars," Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education 8 (May 1977): 69.

[105] Mitchell, (1982), 566.

[106] Mitchell, (1982), 565.

[107] Mitchell, (1982), 570.

[108] Wood, 168; Bob Ferguson, Who's Who in Canadian Sport, (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1977), 168; David McDonald and Lauren Drewery, For the Record: Canada's Greatest Women Athletes, (Rexdale: John Wiley & Sons, 1981), 39-44; and Mitchell, (1982), 568.

facility in the world exclusively for women, the Ladies' Golf and Tennis Club of Toronto."[109]

After years of separation between the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., the first joint Y.M.C.A.-Y.W.C.A. was established in Windsor, Ontario in 1925. The first Canadian camp for "school-girls where they may spend their entire summer holiday," was begun in 1922 by an influential camper, Mary Edgar.[110]

Girls and Women also participated in less popular sports. Archery gathered a limited following beginning in 1920, mainly in Ontario and British Columbia.[111] Fencing also increased in popularity following World War I. Wood attributes this to a European influence and wrote that it was most popular in the cosmopolitan populations found in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver.[112] Wood also suggests that badminton did not rise in popularity till the Twenties,[113] while Batten argues that it was only popular among Canada's elite and was played in garrison armouries and private clubs.[114] Field hockey's popularity also began to increase following the War, particularly in British Columbia.[115]

Fancy skating, or figure skating as it is commonly referred

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[109] McDonald, For the Record, 6.

[110] J. Palm, Legacy to a Camper: The Story of Mary S. Edgar (Toronto: Canadian Camping Association, 1983), 14.

[111] Wood, 163.

[112] Wood, 166.

[113] Wood, 163.

[114] J. Batten, Champions: Great Figures in Canadian Sport, (Toronto: New Press, 1971), 31.

[115] Donegani, 3.

to today, had long been an exclusive sport. This sport provided Canada's first woman Olympian, Cecil Smith, in 1924.[116] Speed skating was also participated in by women; Lela Brooks set six world records in 1925, and won almost every national and international race she entered. In 1936 she married and decided not to go the Olympics that year.[117] The origin of synchronized swimming finds its roots in the Montreal Amateur Athletic Club in 1926 when Florence Gale offered a trophy for "fancy swimming." Margaret Seller was one women who excelled in this sport as an athlete, official, writer, and organizer.[118]

Dr. James Naismith, the inventor of Basketball, was quoted: "I have never expected to live to see the day when girls could play basketball the way these Canadian girls play it. In my opinion, the Grads have the finest basketball team that ever stepped out on a floor."[119] The team, formed in 1915, became a dynasty, for twenty-five years.[120] The legendary Edmonton Grads dominated women's basketball more convincingly than any other team has ever dominated any sport, winning 502 of its 522 games, which included games at the Olympics and North American

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[116] B. Schrodt, "Canadian Women at the Olympics," CAHPER Journal 42, No. 4 (March/April 1976): 34; Griffiths, 13; and David Young, The Golden Age of Canadian Figure Skating, (Toronto: Summerhill Press, 1984), 25, 37-38 & 42.

[117] S.F. Wise & D. Fisher, Canada's Sporting Heroes, (Don Mills: General Publishing Company, 1974), 194-195; Ferguson, 34; McDonald, "20's..." 5; and McDonald, For the Record, 1-6.

[118] Wise, 115.

[119] T. Sirrs, "Grads," Amateur Sport 5, No. 1 (Spring 1974): 10.

[120] N. Randall, "The Full-court Flappers," WomenSports (November 1977): 14-17.

championships.[121] The team's history has been recorded in one master's thesis and no less than twelve articles or portions of books.[122]

The team's coach was Percy Page, later to become Alberta's Lieutenant-Governor. The team was conservative in both its uniform and its play. As one person wrote: "the Grads exhibited nothing fancy in their play--just practised precision and team work by superb athletes."[123]

The folding of the team has been ascribed to the war, political interests of the coach, and lack of spectator interest. "The war was on and the RCAF needed the Edmonton Arena. Travel restrictions made it difficult for teams to get together."[124] Furthermore, "Page himself was more and more involved in a political career."[125] The crowds too were dying off: "it was no longer exciting to watch the Grads win and win and win."[126]

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[121] McDonald, "20's...." 5.

[122] H. Roxborough, Great Days in Canadian Sport, (Toronto: Ryerson, 1957), 132-139; Trent Frayne and Peter Gzowski, Great Canadian Sports Stories, (Toronto: Mcclelland and Stewart, 1965), 53-56; O. Wile, "Our (Almost) International Champions," Oklahoma Today 22, No. 1 (Winter 1971/72): 17-19; Wise, 76-78; Sirrs, 10-12, 24; Sitting on Top of the World, 1915-1940: The Amazing Record of the Edmonton Grads Official World's Basketball Champions, Covering 25 Years of Play, 522 Official Games and over 125000 Miles of Travel. NP, 1975; Randall, 14-17; Jean Bannerman, Leading Ladies Canada, (Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing, 1977), 491; C. Creery, "Edmonton Grads," Report on Confederation 2, No. 4 (March 1979): 34; McDonald, For the Record, 51-60; J. Dewar, "The Edmonton Grads: the team and Its Social Significance From 1915-1940," in R. Howell, (ed.), Her Story in Sport: An Historical Anthology of Women in Sports, (West Point: Leisure Press, 1982), 541-547; L. Zerbe, "The 1930 U.B.C. Basketball Team: Those Other World Champions," in R. Howell, 548-551.

[123] Creery, 34.

[124] Sirrs, 24; and Creery, 34.

[125] Sirrs, 24.

[126] Sirrs, 24; and Creery, 34.

In the 1928 Olympics there were three track and two field events for women, and the Canadian team came home with two gold medals, a silver, and a bronze. The six Canadian women accumulated thirty-four points, compared to the twenty-eight gathered by the second-place twenty-woman U.S. team.[127] The members of this incredible team included Ethel Catherwood, Jane Bell, Myrtle Cook, Ethel Smith, and Fannie Rosenfeld. Catherwood was a record breaking high jumper,[128] the other four won the 400-metre relay,[129] Cook was a superb sprinter, and was one of Canada's first women sports writers.[130] Rosenfeld and Smith were all-round athletes, which was a distinct characteristic of the Twenties, the Golden Age of women's sport.[131] Rosenfeld was selected Canada's outstanding woman athlete of the half-

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[127] McDonald, "20's...." 5; and "Women at the Olympics," Champion 8 (August 1984): 70.

[128] McDonald, "20's...."4; Batten, 122; "Ethel Catherwood Mitchell, 1909-1987," Newsletter--Canada Sports Hall of Fame 9, No. 1 (Spring 1988): 1; Olympic Night in Canada, 8.45 P.M. Wednesday, May 24, 1972, National Arts Centre Opera, Ottawa, Programme; J.T. West, "Two Greats From the Golden Age of Sport for Canada's Women: Ethel Catherwood and Bobbie Rosenfeld," Sport Ontario News 7 (May/June 1978): 15; and Wise, 231.

[129] Wise, 248; P. Lewis, "Myrtle Cook McGowan: A Special Tribute," CAAWS Newsletter 4 (Spring 1985): 7; and Olympic Night in Canada, 8.45 P.M. Wednesday, May 24, 1972, National Arts Centre Opera, Ottawa, Programme.

[130] Ferguson, 53; P.J. Lewis, "Myrtle Cook: Her Role in Promoting Women's Sport in Canada (1928-1934)," (Unpublished paper, University of Western Ontario, 1978); P.J. Lewis, "Myrtle Cook: First Lady of Canadian Sport (1920-1974)," (Master's Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1979); P.J. Lewis, "Myrtle Cook McGowan: A Special Tribute," CAAWS Newsletter 4 (Spring 1985): 6; and West, (May/June 1978): 15; McDonald, "20's...." 5-6; and Bannerman, 488-491.

[131] McDonald, "20's...." 4; Schrodt, (1976): 34; T. West, "Ethel Smith Would Do it Again," Champion 2 (December 1978): 17 & 19; McDonald, "20's...." 4; and T. Radcliffe, "The long jump: Canada's forgotten event," Athletica 2 (June 1975): 13.

century.[132] McDonald amusingly notes:

> In 1925... the Patterson Athletic Club, sponsored by the chocolate company where Rosenfeld worked, won the points title at the Ontario Ladies Track and field Championships with firsts in the discus, the 220 yards, the 120-low hurdles, and the long jump, and seconds in the 100 yards, and the javelin. It was an impressive performance for the "Pats", and made all the more remarkable by the fact that the club had but a single entrant in the meet: Bobbie Rosenfeld.[133]

Rosenfeld also went into journalism and coaching. She wrote a column entitled "Sports Reel." This column ran for more than thirty years in the Toronto Globe and Mail.[134] These women's sport columns also contributed much to the acceptance of women's sport.[135] Rosenfeld coached the 1932 women's track and field team at the British Empire Games in London.[136]

There were other all-around sportswomen during this period. Cecil Smith (not related to the track star) was a brilliant international skater, and won the Ontario ladies' golf championship in 1928 and 1930.[137] Margaret Seller, an outstanding swimmer, also won provincial titles in track and field.[138] Ada Mackenzie, a great golfer, played on several teams, and also won the waltzing title at the Canadian Figure Skating

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[132] McDonald, "20's...." 4; Wise, 79-80; McDonald, For the Record, 7-13; and T. Radcliffe, "The long jump: Canada's forgotten event," Athletica 2 (June 1975): 13.

[133] McDonald, For the Record, 10.

[134] West, (May/June 1978): 15; McDonald, "20's...." 5-6; and Bannerman, 488-491.

[135] Hall, 25.

[136] McDonald, "20's...." 6.

[137] Batten, 88.

[138] Wise, 115.

Championships.[139]

Some of these women, such as Smith, Rosenfeld, Lela Brooks and Ethel Catherwood,[140] were assisted by corporate and individual sponsors. Other athletes, like the Grads,[141] established enough of a paid following to be essentially self-financing.

Although the Canadian athletes and public were elated by the performance of these women Olympians, not every one was pleased. As Hall notes:

> at the same time, girls and women were striving to escape their athletic chains of the past and revel in this new-found freedom, many influential voices of alarm were being heard. Most of this concern came from the United States where, in 1923, the Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation condemned the then current emphasis on competition for women and stated flatly that it would henceforth support the "fun for all and all for fun" philosophy behind girls' and women's sport.[142]

Dr. Lamb of McGill, one of the Canadian officials at the games, objected to women's participation, arguing that "strenuous sport was physiologically and psychologically unsuitable for women." Though the number of events was reduced, women's events were not removed entirely.[143]

The support for women athletes was also not shared equally across the country. Young, a Nova Scotian sport historian, remarks that during the Twenties and Thirties, in his province, the

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[139] Wise, 267-268; and McDonald, "20's...." 4.

[140] Bannerman, 488; McDonald, "20's...." 5-6; and McDonald, For the Record, 21-28.

[141] McDonald, "20's...." 5.

[142] Hall, 25.

[143] Wise, 231; McDonald, For the Record, 18; McDonald, "20's...." 5; and Lenskyj, (1982): 9.

> few voices crying for more serious development of Maritime female athletes raised little support in the 1920's and 1930's. It seems reasonable to assume that raw talent stayed raw, with the few real exceptions making it despite prevalent mores rather than through the encouragement of societal values....[144]

Gertrude Phinney provides a case in point. She ran in some qualifying heats for the 1928 Olympic Team and was invited to go to Amsterdam. However, she was not permitted to travel to the Olympics because her father was of the opinion that "strenuous exercise such as that demanded of a track athlete, would most certainly have adverse effects on child bearing and cause perhaps `irreparable harm' to the mysterious inner workings of the female."[145]

Canadians took pride in their women athletes. The Grads drew large crowds, and when the 1928 women's Olympic team returned to Toronto "a reported 200,000 people jammed Union Station and adjacent Fleet Street. Another 100,000 lined a parade route through downtown Toronto."[146] The pride Canadians had in these exceptional women not only encouraged these athletes, but also served to legitimize women's involvement in athletics.

Ice hockey was representative of sport during the Thirties. It grew until the 1930's when the Depression hit and was further squelched with the onslaught of World War II, when women found themselves taking over for the men in the factories and on the

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[144] A.J. Sandy Young, "Sport for Women in the 1920's and 1930's," Nova Scotia Sport Heritage Centre (September 1982): 14-15.

[145] Young, 14-15; and Ferguson, 182.

[146] McDonald, "20's...." 5.

home front.[147] Track and field peaked in the Thirties, and then went almost into obscurity till the Sixties.[148] Camping continued during this period and was supported with the traditional rhetoric about fresh air and the great outdoors.[149]

There were several notable athletes during the Thirties. Eva Dawes was an Olympic long-jumper.[150] Aileen Meagher won in a variety of athletic events and was permitted to travel with the teams after her parents were assured these events were "well chaperoned."[151] Speed skating was less popular for women, but Canada had three of the best in Lela Brooks, Jean Wilson, and Hattie Donaldson.[152] There were also two great swimmers. Phyllis Dewar is considered to be Canada's first great woman swimmer.[153] There was also Phillis Haslam who held the world record in 1934 for the 100-metre backstroke,[154] Lillian Palmer,[155] and others.[156]

As in the Golden Age of the Twenties, there were all-round athletes, they were also there in the Thirties. Hilda Strike, a

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147 Malkovich, 25-26.

148 Wood, 173.

149 Blackstock, (May 1978): 3.

150 Smith, 15-16.

151 Young, 14-15; and Ferguson, 182.

152 Ferguson, 34; McDonald, "20's...." 5; McDonald, For the Record, 1-6 & 27-32; and Wise, 194-195.

153 Ferguson, 69; McDonald, "20's...." 5-6; Wise, 98-99; and McDonald, For the Record, 45-49.

154 Wise, 99; and Phyllis McCatty, "A Swimming Flashback - Phyllis Haslam," Swim 48 (December 1978): 6.

155 "Lillian (Palmer) Alderson," Olympicinfo 6 (February 1990): 3; and Ferguson, 199.

156 Schrodt, 36.

1932 Olympian and winner of two silver medals[157] excelled at everything from swimming to skating to badminton.[158] When asked about how she felt about those days, she felt that "there weren't really a lot of barriers for women in those days.... Being a woman never fizzed on me."[159] Dorothy Walton was another all-round athlete. She dominated Canadian women's badminton and became the top badminton player in the world when she won the All-England Championships in 1939. But she was also a premier tennis player, and while attending the University of Saskatchewan she was a member of no fewer than 14 collegiate teams.[160]

The thinking of this period was even more strongly affected by the United States non-competitive view for women. Lenskyj suggests that Cartwright's views were reflective of other Canadian educators: "Girls should be impressed with the fact that physical education does not strive to make them men's physical equal, but it aims at perfecting their womanhood." Lenskyj suggests that Cartwright wanted to assure fearful men that "women were only intent on becoming more perfect women, not more perfect athletes."[161] She further argues that Cartwright and her American colleagues tended to subordinate the "separate but equal" argument to the "perfecting of womanhood" goal: "as

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[157] McDonald, "20's...." 4; Schrodt, (1976): 34 & 36; Wise, 248; Ferguson, 251; McDonald, For the Record, 33-38; and Lewis, (Spring 1985): 6-8.

[158] T. West, "Ethel Smith Would Do it Again." Champion 2 (December 1978): 17 & 19; and McDonald, "20's...." 4.

[159] McDonald, For the Record, 36 & 38.

[160] McDonald, "20's...." 4; Wise, 277; Wood, 164; McDonald, For the Record, 61-66; and Ferguson, 251.

[161] Lenskyj, (1983), 237.

educators, they would ensure that unfeminine behaviour, like competitiveness and aggressiveness, was discouraged; as women, they would undertake to prepare girls for social as well as the physical demands of adult life."[162]

The non-competitive view did take hold in various parts of the Canada, and physical competition was removed from the schools.[163] With this came a preoccupation with commercialized professional sport for men. The combined effects meant, according to Hall,

> that boys' and men's sports were given priority of access to public facilities; spectators were drawn away from women's games to the exclusively male professional sports like ice hockey, football and baseball; it became increasingly difficult to find sponsors for women's teams, and the newspapers were turning their attention away from both men's and women's amateur sport.[164]

Kidd, however, felt that though much of the above was true and made a significant impact on the quality of the women's experience, the "effect was not as great as has been stated."

> Participation did decline in some sports and some regions, such as softball in northern Ontario and the Maritimes generally. Press and radio coverage declined as well, often became ghettoized in the "women's sport" columns. But in softball, ice hockey and track and field, in the cities of Ontario and the West, participation and spectatorship were on the increase, perhaps at the beginning of another wave of rapid growth. In 1939, a record 1,528 athletes took out WAAF [Women's Amateur Athletic Federation of Canada] cards in Ontario, and both Alberta and Manitoba reported registrations of close to 400.... In these centres, the women's sports movement was healthy and thriving until the early 1940's, when

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[162] Lenskyj, (1983), 245.

[163] Griffiths, 13.

[164] Hall, 25.

mobilization for war eventually ground it to a halt.[165]

[165] Bruce Kidd, "`Girls Sports Run By Girls': The Women's Amateur Athletic Federation of Canada 1925-1941," (paper presented at the North American Society for Sport History, Loyola University, Chicago, May 24-27, 1991), 37.

Chapter Three: The School of Expression (1901-1906)-- The Beginning

This first period of the Margaret Eaton School, 1901-1906, can be described as the history of a widow, Emma Scott Raff, and her development of a small post-secondary school. The curriculum focused on elocution, drama and physical training, particularly for elite women. It was one of several such schools in Toronto at the time. After 1906 the school was provided with greater permanence through the assistance of a wealthy benefactor, Margaret Eaton.

Emma Scott Raff, the first principal of the School, described the School's early history as follows:

> This School really came into existence in 1901, although it was not christened by its right name until six years later. In 1903, a lady [Margaret Eaton] visited the young School of Expression in its very modest quarters at the corner of Bloor and Yonge Streets, and began the study of Expression, so from that day, she it was that greatly influenced the Principal and the destiny of the School of Expression.[1]

Jackson ('27), provided the following description of the school's founding:

> In 1900, Emma Scott Raff, a young widow, was teaching at Victoria University in Toronto. She was convinced that literature could become a living art through the medium of the voice. Encouraged by the Reverend Nathanael Burwash, Chancellor of Victoria University,

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[1] Report from Emma Scott Nasmith to The Directors of The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, [Fall 1919], AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924);" and "Canadian Women in the Public Eye," Saturday Night (11 September 1920): 26.

> and guided by her own unshakable faith, she opened a studio, in 1901, which was named: `The School of Expression.'"[2]

11. MES's Founder and Major Benefactor: Emma Scott Raff and Margaret Eaton

The school's founder and first principal was Emma Scott Raff, daughter of the Methodist minister, Rev. James Scott, of Owen Sound.[3] She was born about 1880. She married George Nasmith in 1916,[4] remained with the school till 1925, and had a major role in the development of this institution.

Of her early training the following has been noted:

> As a young woman she studied art with George Reid of Toronto and went to Colorado, where she taught painting and married William Bryant Raff. Upon his death, shortly after, she returned to Owen Sound with her daughter, Dorothy. A year later [1897] she came to Toronto to study vocal expression. Here she began her professional life under the name of Mrs. Scott Raff.[5]

It is quite remarkable that within three years she moved to another country, met William Raff, married him, had a child by him, and buried him. It is interesting to note that these events were never detailed or questioned in biographical material about her. Upon her return to Toronto she continued her studies.

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[2] Dorothy Jackson, A Brief History of Three Schools, (Toronto: T. Eaton Company, 1953), 7.

[3] "Art and Literary Leader Mrs. George Nasmith Dies," The Evening Telegram (17 February 1940): 3.

[4] B.W. Greene, (Ed.), Who's Who and Why 1921, (Toronto: International Press, 1921), 16.

[5] "Art and Literary Leader Mrs. George Nasmith Dies;" and "Canadian Women in the Public Eye," Saturday Night (11 September 1920): 26.

> At the Toronto Conservatory of Music she was a pupil of Mr. H.N. Shaw, and after graduation, took post graduate work at the Curry School of Expression in Boston and the Gower St. Academy in London. She also studied mimicry with the celebrated Harmah Vizin in London, and pantomime with the greatest exponent of that art, Madame Canalazzi.
>
> Returning to Toronto, she was assistant to Mr. Shaw at the Conservatory of Music, then was in charge of a similar department at the Toronto College of Music under Dr. Torrington. Later she opened a school of her own.... There she attracted many women to her reading and study classes in Shakespeare and Browning, among them being the wife of Chancellor Burwash of Victoria University and Mrs. Timothy Eaton. At Victoria University she taught expression to divinity students and was in charge of physical training and deportment in Annesley Hall....[6]

On August 8, 1903, in which the first advertisement for her "School of Expression," appeared and noted:

> Elocution, Physical Culture, Pedagogy, Literature. This course embraces the University lecture topics and work in a well equipped gymnasium. For calendar write: Ema[7] Scott Raff, F.C.M. [Fellow of the College of Music], care of School of Expression, Pierce Building, Boston, U.S.A.[8]

She advertised for her "School of Expression,"[9] but by this time she was also listed as the principal of "Elocution, Oratory, Physical Culture and Dramatic Art," of the Toronto College of

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[6] "Art and Literary Leader Mrs. George Nasmith Dies." Regarding her work in deportment see: VUA, 90.064, Volume 1, "Minute Book, Committee of Management of Annesley Hall, January 1905," 15 February 1907, 12 February 1908, 14 October 1909, 13 January 1910, and 10 November 1910; and VUA, 90.064V, Box 3, File 19, "Director of Physical Education, Reports Re: Women's Use of the Gymnasium, 1905-1913," Winter 1908, October 1909, January 1910, and 14 April 1910.

[7] During the earlier years she would occasionally spell her name with only one "m".

[8] Advertisement, Globe (8 August 1903): 10.

[9] Advertisements, Globe, 1903: (3 October): 20; to (24 October): 29; and "The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression," News (8 January 1907): 4.

Music.[10]

In 1904 the Toronto College of Music began September 1, while the College of Music's School of Expression began October 1; Scott Raff continued to be listed as the principal.[11] The same occurred in 1905.[12] Scott Raff's name continued to be listed as the principal of the College's School of Expression till April 21, 1906.[13] With the start of MES she must have given up her position with the College.

It has also been noted that in 1903 she began her work in Annesley Hall, the women's residence at Victoria University, as Director of Physical Culture, though she would occasionally sneak in some deportment and elocution. A 1904 report from the Director of Annesley Hall noted:

> Of our fifty-six students, all but two registered in the gymnasium.... Each of the fifty-four underwent a thorough examination by Dr. Davis and Mrs. Raff and the doctor decided on the kind of gymnastics required for each one.... Many are much improved in health by their fine vigorous training, and classes and shower baths are both very popular. In the near future, there will probably be something of an exhibition of what has been done during the year.[14]

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[10] Advertisements, Globe, 1903: (29 August): 22; to (5 December): 24.

[11] Advertisements, Globe, 1904: (9 January): 11; to (31 December): 7.

[12] Advertisements, Globe, 1905: (7 January): 12; to (30 December): 18.

[13] Advertisements, Globe, 1906: (6 January): 9; to (21 April): 8.

[14] "Report of the Dean of Residence before the Annual Meeting of the Victoria Women's Residence and Educational Association, March 23, 1904," VUA, Box 9/132, "Re: Victoria College and Women's Residence (1902-1912)," 7.

Scott Raff lived at Annesley Hall till 1913.[15] The Annual Report of Annesley Hall, for the 1906-1907 school year, also commented favourably on the gymnasium courses at Annesley Hall.[16]

In addition, Scott Raff was involved at least once in the Women's Literary Society at Annesley Hall, two years after MES was begun. It was noted that "Mrs. Raff delighted her hearers by her reading from several Canadian poets, giving, among others, selections from Miss Coleman and Mrs. Blewett." It was also noted that "a scene from `She Stoops to Conquer,' acted by several of the College girls, was especially appreciated;"[17] one suspects Scott Raff had a role in their acting.

At Victoria College she served as Director of Physical Culture, from 1902 to 1913,[18] in exchange for room and board, the use of the gymnasium for MES, and she received a salary, ranging from $200 to $600.[19] Typically, classes were offered in physical culture twice a day, once at breakfast time, and a second time following or before supper, for each day of the week but Saturday and Sunday.[20] Additional exercise was "abundantly furnished by

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[15] AO-EC, Series 35, Box 2, "State of Affairs with Ontario Government."

[16] "Annual Report May 1906-April 1907," from Margaret Addison, VUA, Box 9/132, "Correspondence re: Victoria College and Women's Residence (1902-1912)," 2.

[17] Acta Victoriana 32 (1908-09): 298-299. Miss Coleman or Mrs. Blewett were local Canadian writers.

[18] VUA, 90.064V, Box 3, File 19, "Director of Physical Education, Reports Re: Women's Use of the Gymnasium, 1905-1913."

[19] VUA, 90.064, Volume 1, "Minute Book, Committee of Management of Annesley Hall, January 1905," 9 May 1906, 9 January 1907, and 8 February 1912.

[20] VUA, 90.064V, Box 2, File 3, "Dean's Reports to Committee of Management of Annesley Hall, 1903-1906," November 1903; VUA, 90.064, Volume 1, "Minute Book, Committee of Management of Annesley Hall,

skating, tennis, and the vigorous teams in hockey and basketball."[21] Class work typically consisted of "curative and corrective work, games, and Swedish gymnastics."[22] A specific class in 1909 was described as follows: "The first period of the morning session is prefaced by this remedial and building process, followed by deep breathing, and then fifteen minutes of good vigorous exercise followed by a period of relaxation and breathing to bring the heart back to a normal beat."[23] Prior to participating in these classes students needed to have a medical examination, the physical education instructor would then develop activities most helpful for

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January 1905," 9 May 1906; and VUA, 90.064V, Box 3, File 19, "Director of Physical Education, Reports Re: Women's Use of the Gymnasium, 1905-1913," Winter 1909.

[21] "Report of Annesley and South Halls 1909-1910, March 10, 1910," from Margaret Addison, VUA, Box 9/132, "Correspondence re: Victoria College and Women's Residence (1902-1912)," 1.

[22] VUA, 90.064, Volume 1, "Minute Book, Committee of Management of Annesley Hall, January 1905," 10 November 1910.

[23] VUA, 90.064V, Box 3, File 19, "Director of Physical Education, Reports Re: Women's Use of the Gymnasium, 1905-1913," Winter 1909.

the student.[24]

Though there were those who spoke positively of her,[25] and many compliments to her ability can be found, not surprisingly, in the School's Calendars,[26] one also finds some critiques of Scott Raff. One person, in 1901, in discussing the opening of the Department of Expression, at Victoria College, criticized "Scott Raff's superficiality... her utter lack of comprehension of what true culture means...."[27] Also, a letter from forty-seven female Undergraduates of Victoria College, probably written in the Fall of 1906, was negative concerning Emma Scott Raff. In large part, this letter is concerned about maintaining the educational prestige of Victoria College. One argument stated that "the instructress, although of no University standing, ranks with the Faculty as head of a so-called Department."[28] Two

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[24] VUA, 90.064V, Box 3, File 20, "Examining Physician's Report Re: Women's Health, 1905-1911, 1921-1930;" VUA, 90.064V, Box 2, File 3, "Dean's Reports to Committee of Management of Annesley Hall, 1903-1906," May 1904, and May 1905; VUA, 90.064, Volume 1, "Minute Book, Committee of Management of Annesley Hall, January 1905," 9 May 1906, 10 April 1907, 14 October 1908, 8 April 1909, 14 October 1909, 13 January 1910, 12 May 1910, and 10 November 1910; and VUA, 90.064V, Box 3, File 19, "Director of Physical Education, Reports Re: Women's Use of the Gymnasium, 1905-1913," 14 October 1908.

[25] "A Beautiful Teaching Centre." "Literature and Expression." Letter to Chancellor Burwash, Members of the Senate and Board of Regents, from 13 students in Theology and Arts at Victoria University, nd, VUA, Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash, Box 9, File 135, "Margaret Eaton School;" and "Mrs. Scott Raff's Recital," Globe (5 December 1910): 9.

[26] 1908-1909 Calendar, 23; 1909-1910 Calendar, 27-28; 1910-1911 Calendar, 26-28; and 1912-1913 Calendar, 22-23.

[27] A.A. Chown to Mr. Burwash, August 1, 1901, VUA, Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash, Box 9, File 135, "The Margaret Eaton School."

[28] From 47 Women Undergraduates of Victoria University to The Board of Regents, Victoria University, VUA, Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash, Box 9, File 135, "The Margaret Eaton School." Though ranked with faculty she was not listed as faculty, see Paul Whiteley and Martin

students who remember Scott Raff when she was principal of MES in the Twenties were also not impressed with her. One person described her as "beautiful, austere, correct and a snob."[29] This snobbishness was also evident to the other student who noted "it was very important that her [Scott Raff] students had a good social background.... She like people whose father was a lawyer or judge or something, and if you did not measure up in those sort of ways she just neglected you, and had nothing to do with you. She was a strange woman."[30]

Cowan noted of Scott Raff that "in 1900 she replaced a Mrs. Cutter... as instructor in physical training for the young women of Victoria.... As time went on it was evident that Mrs. Scott Raff's particular contribution, which many regarded as superficial, had made a strong appeal to Mrs. Burwash and to the Chancellor....[31] The Victoria board thought otherwise, and protected itself in 1903 by placing "on record its opinion that no further study other than Physical Culture, be authorized in connection with the Woman's Residence." Following this decision, a report was read for information from Scott Raff regarding her "School of Expression."[32]

Tooke, Faculty Members of Victoria University, 1841-1925, (Toronto: Victoria University Archives, 1988).

[29] Correspondence with Mary Barker, to the author, October 9, 1991.

[30] Interview with Nora MacLennan, by the author, September 26, 1991.

[31] C.B. Sissons, A History of Victoria University, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), 242; and Kathleen Cowan, It's late, and all the girls have gone, (Toronto: Childe Thursday, 1984), 171.

[32] 87.167V, VUA, "Minutes of the Board of Regents of Victoria University, Commencing Oct. 13th, 1889 to May 23rd, 1910," May 21st, 1903.

In 1910, Chancellor Burwash moved that Victoria "give more time in individual work in Elocution, $1500 be set apart for that department and arrangements if possible be made with the Margaret Eaton School." The motion was referred to Faculty Committee.[33] A year later it was decided to form a Committee that would govern all activities at Annesley Hall, and Burwash's original motion was again delayed. The college then appointed W.H. Greaves, instead of Scott Raff, as "Instructor in Elocution." Finally, it was moved and adopted that "the Chancellor's request for a year's rest be granted with salary." Burwash had lost his bid to provide Scott Raff with greater opportunities for doing her work at Victoria.[34] As Sissons comments in his History of Victoria University, following Burwash's 1910 motion, "it thus became apparent that the Chancellor's thought had been to give Mrs. Scott Raff a larger place in the College, either in Annesley Hall or in teaching theological students how to preach, while the Board and the Senate had no desire to do either one or the other."[35] In 1913, a physical culture department was organized at the University of Toronto. It was anticipated that this, plus some internal changes at Annesley Hall, would create additional costs, and were listed as the reasons to "discontinue our classes in physical culture for the ensuing year."[36] This was decided at

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[33] 87.167V, VUA, "Minutes of the Board of Regents of Victoria University, Commencing Oct. 13th, 1889 to May 23rd, 1910," January 14, 1910.

[34] 87.167V, VUA, "Minutes of the Board of Regents of Victoria University, Commencing Oct. 13th, 1889 to May 23rd, 1910," April 30, 1912.

[35] Sissons, 242; and Cowan, 171.

[36] VUA, 90.064, Volume 2, "Minute Book, Committee of Management of Annesley Hall, March 1911," 18 February 1913.

an executive meeting of the Committee of Management, and was supported at a full meeting two weeks later, along with the acceptance of Scott Raff's resignation.[37] Scott Raff moved out of Annesley Hall in September of that year.[38] Following these events, Mrs. Eaton and Mrs. Massey resigned from this Committee.[39] Though no reasons were stated, their allegiance to Scott Raff may have contributed to their decision. Burwash touches on the development of Annesley Hall in his History of Victoria College, but carefully avoids mention of Scott Raff.[40]

In addition to her work at her school and at Annesley Hall, she did some travelling.[41] She reported in the Fall of 1912 that the "summer holidays were days of rare happiness and rare opportunity to attend congresses, leagues and conventions in London, Oxford and Stratford, and to discuss schools and school methods with teachers from all over the world."[42] Prior to World War I, reflecting on her travels, she prepared a small booklet of stories concerning some of the "Queens' Gardens" in Europe.[43] She was also one of the charter members of the Heliconian Club--

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[37] VUA, 90.064, Volume 2, "Minute Book, Committee of Management of Annesley Hall, March 1911," 21 February 1913, and 13 May 1913,

[38] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," 15 September 1913.

[39] VUA, 90.064, Volume 2, "Minute Book, Committee of Management of Annesley Hall, March 1911," 15 November 1913.

[40] Nathanael Burwash, The History of Victoria College, (Toronto: The Victoria College Press, 1927), 454.

[41] "Canadian Women in the Public Eye," Saturday Night (11 September 1920): 26; and Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," UTA-RBC, Dora Mavor Moore Collection, 207, 10 August, and August 1912.

[42] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, November 1911, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[43] Emma Scott Raff, Of Queens' Gardens. NP, ND.

the woman's counterpart to the Arts and Letters Club, founded in 1909--and remained a member of its drama section until her death. She was also the educational advisor to the Drama League of Toronto.[44]

She apparently worked hard, at least in the eyes of Timothy Eaton, whose wife quoted him as saying, "Mrs. Raff was doing too much work, would not be able to last if she kept on."[45] This concern about Scott Raff overdoing herself was more acute in 1907 since she was not well. Margaret Eaton wrote: "I told Mrs. Burwash that Dr. Osler had given a letter to Mrs. Raff for some specialist; at our going away she had not gone to see the Dr. so did not know the results."[46] Even a year and a half later her physician "forbade her to work after six o'clock."[47] She did not take kindly to being sick, in a letter to Dora Mavor, in 1913 she wrote: "Do you know what the wicked people did to me, put me to bed for two precious weeks and made me lie still. I was sick one night and frightened them and they had to get even with me."[48]

Upon her death, in February 16, 1940,[49] a newspaper columnist noted that Emma Nasmith,

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[44] Robert Scott, "A Study of Amateur Theatre in Toronto: 1900-1930," (Master's Thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1966), 249.

[45] Margaret W. Eaton to Chancellor Burwash, July 23, 1907, VUA, Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash, Box 9, File 135, "The Margaret Eaton School."

[46] Margaret W. Eaton to Chancellor Burwash, July 23, 1907.

[47] VUA, 90.064, Volume 1, "Minute Book, Committee of Management of Annesley Hall, January 1905," 12 February 1908.

[48] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," Eastertide 1913.

[49] "Nasmith, Emma Scott," Globe and Mail (19 February 1940): 22.

> first principal of the Margaret Eaton School and leader in Toronto art and literary circles for nearly 40 years, died suddenly Friday night from a heart attack. Although she had not been well for the past three years, her death, at her home in the Mayfair Apartments, was unexpected.... She is survived by her husband, her daughter, Mrs. Robert Fennell, and four grandchildren, Rosemary, Robert Junior, Nancy and Scott Fennell, and one brother, Alexander Scott, noted prospector of Northern Ontario.[50]

Margaret Eaton[51] was, according to Emma Scott Raff, "the Lady" through whose "influence and generosity our school was built and a charter of incorporation obtained."[52] Furthermore, Nasmith states Margaret Eaton was not only the school's "generous patron but she was one of its most interested students, and guided its destiny for many years."[53] She was the school's main benefactor, providing for the school's building and constantly paying the school's deficits. Without her backing, it is unlikely MES would ever have grown as it did.

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[50] "Art and Literary Leader Mrs. George Nasmith Dies." The Evening Telegram (17 February 1940): 3; and "Mrs. Nasmith's Life-Work," Saturday Night (2 March 1940): 2.

[51] William Stephenson, The Store That Timothy Built, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), 21-22; Miller, C., et al. Outstanding Women of Oxford County, Volume 2, (Oxford County Board of Education, 1980), 11-20; and "Mrs. Timothy Eaton," from the possessions of Miss E.N. Macdonald, died 1960, Series 221, Container 4, "Eaton, Margaret Wilson Beattie - Biography."

[52] Report from Emma Scott Nasmith to The Directors of The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, [Fall 1919], AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924)."

[53] Helen Parsons, "Brief Notes on the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression and the Margaret Eaton School," The-News-of-the-School IX, No. 3 (March 1942): 2; "Mrs Timothy Eaton Passes at Oakville," Star (20 March 1933): 3; Jessie Alexander Roberts, "A Biography of Mrs. Timothy Eaton," March 1933, pp, 7-8, AO-EC, Series 221, Container 4, "Eaton, Margaret Wilson Beattie - Biography;" and Report from Emma Scott Nasmith to The Directors of The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, [Fall 1919], AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924)."

Margaret Wilson Beattie was born to Irish immigrant parents in 1841. She met Timothy Eaton while she was living in Woodstock, Ontario, sixty kilometres west of Toronto, and Timothy was living in nearby St. Marys. They were married in 1862.[54] In a biography of Timothy Eaton, it was noted that he

> was very fond of listening to his wife read to him. Mrs. Timothy Eaton, had she been trained for the profession, would undoubtedly have made a great actress. For her dramatic ability is unique. Mr. Eaton could never be induced to go inside a theatre though his family tried without success to get him to see plays like `The Old Homestead.' He became interested in dramatic training which his wife was taking and the effect it had on her reading[55].

She confessed to a friend, Jessie Alexander Roberts, "to having cherished in girlhood, secret but unexpressed longings `to be an actress'--a vocation not to be talked of openly in those days." Roberts noted that Margaret Eaton's

> dramatic instinct and natural love of literature led to the forming of a Dramatic Club which met at her home once a week for the reading of standard authors, and many of her friends remember with delight, Mrs. Eaton's impersonations of well-known characters from Dickens and Shakespeare.... The Dramatic Club eventually developed, through Timothy Eaton's generosity, into the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression,... in whose earlier sessions Mrs. Eaton took an active part.[56]

As to her acting ability, Flora Eaton, Margaret Eaton's daughter-in-law, notes: "Probably some of my early love came from Mrs. Timothy Eaton, who was a talented actress with a phenomenal gift for memorizing. In the long-ago nineteen-hundreds I have seen

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[54] Stephenson, 21-22.

[55] George C. Nasmith, Timothy Eaton, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1923), 270.

[56] Jessie Alexander Roberts, "A Biography of Mrs. Timothy Eaton," March 1933, pp, 7-8, AO-EC, Series 221, Container 4, "Eaton, Margaret Wilson Beatie - Biography."

her in Shakespearean roles in the theatre of the academy she founded."[57] Dora Mavor Moore ('11), a leading woman in the development of Canadian theatre--discussed more fully in Chapter Five--added that Margaret Eaton "was a delightful person... her readings from the Bible were superb--[she] would have been an actress of excellence."[58] Margaret Eaton died March 18, 1933, at the age of ninety-one.[59] Despite differences between Scott Raff and Margaret Eaton in the early Twenties; faculty, students, and graduates of MES were among "thousands" who attended the funeral and gave flowers.[60] Furthermore, Scott Raff noted:

> Margaret W. Eaton was a truly great woman. For over thirty years I have known and loved her. If in early life she had studied dramatic art, I believe she would have been a second Ellen Terry. I have never heard any one read Shakespeare with greater simplicity, beauty of diction, and rhythm. Canada may be proud of the woman who so generously gave of her wealth to build the school named after her--the Margaret Eaton

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[57] Flora McCrea Eaton, Memory's Wall, (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1956), 195-196.

[58] "Local colour learned from Mrs. D.M. Moore," April 25, 1964, Series 221, Container 6, "Eaton, Timothy Family."

[59] "Family Summoned to Bedside--Celebrated 91st Birthday Last Week," Globe (18 March 1933): 1; "Mrs. Timothy Eaton," Globe (20 March 1933): 4;"Mrs. Timothy Eaton Dies; One of Original Directors of Husband's Great Store," The Evening Telegram (20 March 1933): 1 & 2; "Mrs. Timothy Eaton Passes at Her Oakville Home," Globe (20 March 1933): 4; "Mrs Timothy Eaton Passes at Oakville," The Toronto Daily Star (20 March 1933): 3; "Hundreds Join Deep Mourning for Mrs. Eaton," The Evening Telegram (20 March 1933): 1 & 3; "Flowers Express Mourning of Friends for Mrs. Eaton;" Toronto Daily Star (20 March 1933): 1 & 2; "City Bids Adieu to Mrs. Eaton," The Mail and Empire (22 March 1933: 13; "The Late Mrs. Timothy Eaton," The Toronto Daily Star (20 March 1933): 6; and "Mrs. T. Eaton Leaves Estate of $661,433," The Evening Telegram (22 March 1933): 6.

[60] "Reverent Thousands Bow Silent Tributes To Late Mrs. Eaton," Globe (22 March 1933): 1 & 10; "Whole City Pays Tribute to Mrs. Timothy Eaton," Toronto Daily Star (22 March 1933): 4; "Fine Life Worthily Lived is Eulogy to Mrs. Eaton," The Evening Telegram (22 March 1933): 1 & 2; and R.Y. Eaton to Mrs. George Nasmith, April 3, 1933; R.Y. Eaton to Mary Thrall, March 30 1933, AO-EC, Series 221, Container 4, "Eaton, Mrs. Timothy--Funeral."

> School of Literature and Expression--and thousands of its pupils the world over honor, love and revere her name. She was a great humanitarian, and to-night they, with me, are bereft of a friend.[61]

Or as Mary Hamilton, principal of MES in 1933, said: "The Alumnae, who have come in contact with her gracious presence have the deepest regard and affection for her. The present school, not having had the privilege of knowing Mrs. Eaton, personally, none the less appreciate and respect the great spirit of her generosity which founded the institution which bears her name."[62]

It was also noted by one newspaper reporter that Margaret Eaton:

> was the only woman in Canada not professionally concerned in matters of stage to take a personal interest in the affairs of a theatre. Reared in Methodism and founding a theatre was at least original. To persuade Timothy Eaton, all his life opposed to the stage; that it was his privilege not only to pay $50,000 cash down for such an institution, but to have his wife's name advertised as its founder--The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression--must be set down as real diplomacy....
>
> Without her interest the project never would have been started. Nothing so idealistic had ever been attempted in Canada: a phase of a new uncommercial world is sponsored, personalized and financed by Canada's greatest commercial institution. Margaret Eaton became herself the chief student in the school and one of the most enthusiastic actors in the theatre. If it was not expedient for her to go to the theatre, the theatre could be built around her, and once again in the eyes of Timothy Eaton, who used ideas of other people but never allowed them to interfere much with his own, "Maggie" had triumphed.
>
> In this theatre Margaret Eaton found the one greatest joy of her life outside her own home. The school

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[61] "Hundreds Mourn at Church in Tribute of its Founder," The Toronto Daily Star (21 March 1933): 1 & 2; "Mrs. Timothy Eaton Dies; One of Original Directors of Husband's Great Store," The Evening Telegram (20 March 1933): 1 & 2; and "Bounty and Charm of Gracious Lady Warmly Recalled," Globe (20 March 1933): 1 & 2.

[62] "Church Service for Mrs. Eaton at 3 P.M. Today," Globe (21 March 1933): 11 & 12.

> became to her a sort of church. There she was able to bring in a focus something which all her life had been a dream. She took part in many of the productions under the principalship of Mrs. Nasmith and an active interest in all the school's activities, even to the designing of costumes. She found a fresh interest in Shakespeare from helping to act his plays: also in Greek drama, something which more deeply than Shakespeare helped to explain the riddle of existence.[63]

12. Governance and Finance

The School of Expression began operating out of Victoria College; a Methodist College affiliated with the University of Toronto.[64] According to the School's 1918 Calendar, the School apparently filled a need in the community because:

> By 1905 the School of Expression had outgrown the accommodation of the studio at Bloor and Yonge Streets. Mrs. Scott Raff recorded that Mr. Timothy Eaton, at his summer residence in Muskoka, said to her: "Go to Toronto and get Dr. Burwash to go with you, and buy land for a school in which to incorporate your teaching."[65]

Or as Burwash stated it a later date, Timothy Eaton "put, I suppose, nearly $50,000.00 into it for Mrs. Eaton's sake because it afforded her a pleasing and worthy interest."[66]

The school was guided by an Advisory Council. The role of this council is not clear. What is clear is that the council is

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[63] "Mrs Timothy Eaton Passes at Oakville," The Toronto Daily Star (20 March 1933): 3.

[64] Nathanael Burwash to R.Y. Eaton, November 30, 1915, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924)."

[65] 1918-1919 Calendar, 7.

[66] Correspondence from Nathanael Burwash to R.Y. Eaton, November 30, 1915, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924)."

derived from Toronto's elite. The members of this Council included Chancellor Burwash; Margaret Burwash, the Chancellor's wife; Margaret Eaton, the wife of the founder of the Eaton Company; Rev. Dr. Withrow; Dr. F. H. Torrington, director of Toronto College of Music; Mrs. V.M. Sweetnam, an instructor at the School from 1907-1910; Lillian Massey-Treble, a wealthy philanthropist;[67] and Scott Raff, the school's principal.[68] Some of the women had previously worked together on other volunteer boards.[69] A brief description of the lives of these people helps to understand more completely the origin and flavour of this school.

Of the other advisory council members, Nathanael Burwash played a key role. He served on this council, and was also president of its Board of Directors, from 1906 till 1918. Burwash was born July 25, 1839 in St. Andrews Quebec. He was raised in a Methodist home. He studied at Victoria College, a Methodist college, from 1852 to 1855 before securing a position as a public school teacher for two years. Then he returned to Victoria College and graduated in 1859. He served as a Methodist minister till 1866. From 1866 to 1873 he studied Natural Science at Yale, in preparation for teaching at Victoria. Also during this time he studied theology at Garrett Biblical Institute of Evanston, Illinois, in the hopes of teaching

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[67] "Mrs. Massey-Treble," Globe (4 December 1908): 1.

[68] "The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression," News (8 January 1907): 4; and Brian Winter, Vox Collegii Centennial Edition 1874-1974 - Ontario Ladies College, (Whitby: Ontario Ladies' College), 28-30, & 33.

[69] Minutes from the Executive Committee and Board of Regents of Victoria College, December 16, 1902, VUA, 87221V, "Victoria University Senate - Annesley Hall (1906-1923)."

theology at Victoria. In 1873 he was appointed the dean of the new faculty of theology at Victoria. From 1874 until 1886, he served as secretary of the Educational Society of the Methodist Church. In this position he travelled throughout Ontario soliciting larger donations for Methodist higher education. In 1887, following the death of the previous chancellor, Burwash became Victoria's new chancellor, a position he held till 1913. It was during his chancellorship that Victoria College became a federated college with the University of Toronto. Upon his retirement as chancellor he continued to teach doctrinal history until his death on March 30, 1918.[70]

His influence was felt beyond his work at Victoria College. His involvement on the University of Toronto Senate and the Ontario Educational Council meant that he exerted tremendous influence on the educational system of Ontario, and he was an active member of several other influential associations and institutions.[71] Of special relevance to this study is his presidency of the Board of Directors of MES till his death. According to Nasmith's biography on Timothy Eaton, Dr. Burwash, "the late learned Chancellor of the University of Victoria, a great personal friend of Mr. Eaton believed in the training as outlined in the School of Literature and Expression. He studied the question closely and was frequently consulted by Mr. Eaton on

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[70] Katherine Rideout, Nathanael Burwash, (Toronto: Victoria University Archives, 1982); Marguerite Van Die, An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada 1839-1918, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989); and Henry James Morgan, (Ed.) The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Hand-book of Canadian Biography of Living Characters, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), 179.

[71] Rideout; and Van Die.

the matter."[72] His friendship with the Eatons was also obvious in correspondence from Margaret Eaton in which she states "if you [Chancellor] and Mrs. Burwash will come up to our place [cottage in Muskoka] for one week I will be so pleased to have you...."[73] Burwash was very much in the circle of elite and influential families in Toronto.

Of Nathanael Burwash's wife less is known.[74] Only the following brief description could be located:

> In December 1868, Burwash married Margaret Proctor of Sarnia. Prior to her marriage, Margaret had taught at the Wesleyan Female College in Hamilton and had been the Preceptress of the Ladies' Academy in Sackville, New Brunswick; she matched Nathanael's deep religious faith and quiet intelligence. They had twelve children of whom only four sons lived past adolescence.[75]

She died in 1924, and her share in MES was transferred at that time.[76]

Lillian Massey-Treble was also from this group of Toronto elite. Her father, Hart Massey, developed his father's foundaries into a flourishing manufacturing company of farm implements. Upon Hart's death, Lillian and her brother were the executors of their father's estate and had the responsibility of distributing over one million dollars to various institutions,

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[72] Nasmith, 271.

[73] Letter from Margaret Eaton to Chancellor Burwash, July 23, 1907.

[74] "Mrs. Nathanael Burwash," Globe (3 February 1912): 8.

[75] Rideout, ii, iii.

[76] Charles Kerr to J. Elliott, October 9, 1924, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924)."

primarily educational institutions.[77] Rev. Bowles, Burwash's successor, gave the sermon at her funeral and was positive in his description of her educational and religious philanthropy.[78] She was apparently very pious and was of the "old fashioned Methodist type." Furthermore,

> Mrs. Treble's life was distinctly forwarded in philanthropic directions by the ministry of service upon which her father had entered the last years of his very active career. Perhaps even more was this bent given to her life by the noble bequests contained in his will--the finest disposal of a large estate ever made by any Canadian citizen... of a very large inheritance.[79]

She was instrumental in financing Fred Victor Mission--a mission for Toronto's poor--and the Lillian Massey School of Household Science--another educational institution which found prominence because of a wealthy benefactor. For both the Mission and the school of Household Science,

> [she] believed above all things in the dignity and profound social significance of the home.... What was needed was... such teaching and training as would make them [girls in the mission and students at the School of Household Science] useful in the home and help make the home more fully minister to all needs physical, moral and aesthetic.[80]

Concerning Mrs. V.M. Sweetnam, it is known only that she was instructor at MES from 1907-1910 and that she taught

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[77] David Roberts, "Massey, Hart Almerrin," in Francess G. Halpenny, (Editor), Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume XII, 700-709.

[78] R.B. Bowles, Sermon re: Mrs. Lillian Massey Treble, VUA, Personal Papers of R.B. Bowles, "Baccalaureate Addresses"; and Morgan, 1108.

[79] R.B. Bowles, Sermon re: Mrs. Lillian Massey Treble, VUA, Personal Papers of R.B. Bowles, "Baccalaureate Addresses".

[80] Ibid.

"Interpretation and Deportment."[81] The major achievements of Dr. F.H. Torrington (1837-1917) are described as "the development of a strong choral tradition in Toronto, but he also had a personal influence on many musicians in Montreal and Toronto," and was known as "a musician of genius."[82] Of particular importance to MES is his founding of the Toronto College of Music in 1888.[83] From 1903 to 1905, Scott Raff was the director of this College's Department of Expression.

There is little available information on the School's finances. For the 1903-1904 year: the year was begun with a balance of $329.74; the teaching staff cost $1,435.76 and other expenses added up to $452.76, for total expenses of $1,765.50; the total income was also $1,756.50. The net result was a $329.74 deficit for the year and a net balance of zero.[84] Costs were kept low because Victoria College absorbed office expenses for MES, and MES could use the Annesley Hall gymnasium in partial exchange for Scott Raff's work for Victoria College.[85]

13. Curriculum

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[81] Jackson, 35.

[82] H. Kallman, G. Potvin, and K. Winters, (Eds.) Encyclopedia of Music in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981): 928; Morgan, 1105-1106; and "Music and Drama," Globe, (8 May 1909): 11.

[83] Kallman, 921 & 928; J.H. Beers, Commemorative Biographical Record of the County of York, (Toronto: J.H. Beers, 1907), 109-111; & H. Charlesworth, "Dr. Torrington's Memory Honored," Saturday Night (27 September 1924): 5 & 10.

[84] N. Burwash to Mr. Eaton, November 30, 1915, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[85] Nathanael Burwash to R.Y. Eaton, November 30, 1915, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924)."

In an article describing the opening of the new school building in 1906, there were several reflective comments on the earlier history and mission of the school. The article stated that the ideal of the founders of the school was to teach "the vocal interpretation of literature." It was argued that the "word `elocution' has fallen into disrepute and has become associated with cheap display and superficial study.... But there is a real voice culture, far removed from the affectation and superficiality of that which has proved unequal to modern demands." In addition it was argued that: "Literature and voice culture are allied in this modern curriculum with physical culture and household science, proving the healthy recognition of the importance of developing the body and the keeping of the home." A newspaper reporter contrasted this with the "curse" of the prevailing educational systems which, "especially those for women, has been narrowness. They have dabbled in the little learning which has inevitably proved a dangerous thing and which gave the student a touch of intellectual priggishness, a spirit utterly opposed to the things which are more excellent."[86] Finally, Chancellor Burwash, of Victoria College, and later president of MES, in further arguing the importance of speech, noted:

> The prevailing method of education to-day cultivates written rather than vocal expression. This we regard as a very serious defect. Our most healthy and natural, and, we think, our highest and best spiritual life is that face to face with our fellow-men. In the great struggle of our active life, our best is called forth, and as it is called forth it at once finds

[86] "Literature and Expression," AO-EC, Series 162, Box 24, "(Education - Margaret Eaton School) Press Clippings (1925-60)."

> expression in attitude, in countenance, and in spoken word or act.... The study of true speech, like that of writing, leads to correctness, not diffuseness, of expression."[87]

Scott Raff, the school's principal, contended that more attention should be given to the spoken word in education, and that "Believing that we can give nothing to our fellow-men but ourselves, and that our best can only be revealed through co-ordination of mind and body, we aim to give such training that the physical, mental, and moral needs of the pupil may be equally supplied."[88] This ancient Greek perspective was reflected in the school's motto: "`A Sound Mind in a Sound Body.' It was symbolized in the School crest by the Greek torch encircled by a laurel wreath."[89]

The 1905-1906 School Calendar promoted this view:

> Our inner spiritual life and its expression are inseparably connected. Our thought, feeling and purpose, as they rise in our own consciousness, are already expressed, first to ourselves and then to others. It is equally true that the perfection of this inner life depends on the perfection of its expression. A thought that is not fully, clearly and adequately expressed is not fully, clearly and adequately conceived. Hence, in all ages, expression has been an important part of education. The prevailing method of education to-day cultivates written rather than vocal expression. This we regard as a very serious defect. Our most healthy, natural, and our highest spiritual life, is not that of the closet alone. It is face to face with our fellow-men, and in the great struggle of our active life that our best is called forth. As it is called forth, it at once finds expression in attitude, in countenance, and in spoken word, or act.[90]

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[87] Ibid.

[88] Calendar of 1905-1906 as quoted in Jackson, 8; and "Canadian Women in the Public Eye," Saturday Night (11 September 1920): 26.

[89] Jackson, 7.

[90] Ibid.

No calendars or course description could be located. The only description comes from Burwash who noted that the students received all their instruction in languages and literature at Victoria College, and received their lessons in elocution and physical culture from Scott Raff.[91]

Two letters, one from forty-seven women undergraduates and the other from thirteen male students from Victoria College, provide some clues with respect to actual content and entrance requirements for part-time students, and also full-time students. In 1903, several male students from Victoria College had this to say:

> We, the undersigned students in Theology and Arts, humbly beg to state that during our college course we have felt the need of additional training, beyond the requirements of the University Curriculum, in voice culture, expression, etc., that might assist towards our highest usefulness in life. We have taken work with Mrs. Scott Raff and desire hereby to testify to the value of the instruction and practical training received. In tone production the method is equal to that adopted by the best vocal teachers in the city; in expression, careful attention is given to Bible and hymn reading; in platform deportment, the best practical exercises are also given. No other teachers seem to have so fortunately combined these three departments.
>
> If means could be devised by which the benefits of such training might be brought within reach of all Theological and Arts students of Victoria, we believe that the permanent usefulness of the College would be perceptibly increased thereby.[92]

In the interest of preserving academic standards, forty-seven women from the same university signed a concerned letter that

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[91] Nathanael Burwash to R.Y. Eaton, November 30, 1915, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924)."

[92] Letter from 13 students in Theology and Arts to Chancellor Burwash, Members of the Senate and Board of Regents. VUA, Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash, Box 9, File 135, "The Margaret Eaton School."

stated:

> While there is a nominal qualification for entrance this is not enforced, and hence of no academic standing, rank with the Undergraduates as students of Victoria University, and, receiving a diploma from that department, are considered Victoria Graduates.
>
> The course itself is below the standard of the Undergraduate courses, inasmuch as it is not a College course carefully planned and arranged by University authorities with reference to educational principles and needs. It is a course planned and arranged solely by its instructress....
>
> The women Undergraduates believe that the Department of Expression may become a serious menace to the academic standing of Victoria University, her graduates and under-graduates, and the danger of this will be increased by the possibility of Victoria becoming more widely known as a school of elocution than as a University. Therefore we urgently request that the Board of Regents make a most careful investigation into this matter.[93]

The letter from the thirteen males would suggest that individual courses could be taken at the School of Expression. Yet, the women's letter suggests that some people would graduate from the School with some sort of credential.

Information regarding the evening lecture program is also limited. One reads in the Calendar 1905-1906, about "Lectures to be taken at the Lillian Massey School of Household Science: Physiology and Hygiene by John Malloch, M.B., Lecture on Chemistry of Food and Bread, by George Nasmith, M.A., Ph.D., Chemist, Provincial Board of Health."[94]

Unfortunately, due to limited material on this period, a more complete description is not possible. In terms of an overall evaluation of this period there is only one comment from

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[93] Letter from 47 Women Undergraduates of Victoria University to the Board of Regents, Victoria University, VUA, Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash, Box 9, File 135, "The Margaret Eaton School."

[94] Calendar 1905-1906, as quoted by Jackson, 13.

Burwash; not surprisingly it is positive. He wrote that his

> only criticism of the school was that its curriculum was twenty years ahead of the time because it was concerned with the development of individual personality and not with attempting to force that personality through a routine system which had the tendency to suppress the personality as was the practice in many schools at the time.[95]

14. Faculty

According to the list of faculty as listed in Jackson's booklet,[96] there were three faculty who served the school from 1901 to 1905; all were females, see Appendix E1. From the data it is unclear how many faculty were added in 1905 and how many, if any at all, worked at the school full-time; it is likely that none did. It also appears that from 1901 to 1902, Emma Scott Raff was the only instructor. Her credentials included a F.C.M. diploma (Fellow of the College of Music) and she taught Interpretation of Literature, and the Art of Expression. Leila Davis joined the School in 1905 and served as medical examiner evaluating the students' physical capacity to fulfil the requirements of the School; she did not teach any courses at all, but advised exercises to students following their physical examinations with her; her credentials included a M.B. and a M.D.[97] She also served as the medical examiner in connection with

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[95] Nasmith, 271.

[96] Jackson, 34-35.

[97] Leila Davis may be the wife to Mr. Davis who also appears to have an interest in Dramatics judging by the following: "Mr. Davis, president of the Undergraduates' Union [University of Toronto],... asked Mrs. Scott Raff,... to take charge of the Commencement festivities of next June, when 'She Stoops to Conquer,' Gilbert's version of 'Pygmalion and Galatea' and 'As You Like It' will be given by the Toronto Dramatic

Scott Raff's work at Annesley Hall.[98]

15. Students

Although there were a few part-time students who were male, its students were predominantly female. The number of students, full- and part-time, is uncertain; a 1910 report said that in 1901 "the school was cradled in the university [Victoria], and was launched with only five students."[99] Burwash noted that the students "were limited largely to those taking full courses and paying the larger fees."[100]

One of the graduates during this period was Florence Walton, who married Dr. Marlow, "one of the most outstanding surgeons in Canada."[101] In 1948 it was reported that in

> 1903 Florence Elizabeth Walton, F.T.C.M. '01 passed the University of Toronto examination in Gymnastics and Physical Drill. She was the first woman who ever tried it. There was no certificate for women and she had to wait until one was printed and received it in 1906. As the University never post-dates a certificate, 1906 was the date thereon. Recently after much research, the Registrar's office found the 1903 file and has given a Statement with the correct date. Florence Elizabeth Walton was the first graduate of the School of Expression.... Therefore to your own School belongs the distinction of having had

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Arts Club. "Literature and Expression," (January 1907).

[98] VUA, 90.064V, Box 3, File 20, "Examining Physician's Report Re: Women's Health, 1905-1911, 1921-1930;" and VUA, 90.064V, Box 2, File 3, "Dean's Reports to Committee of Management of Annesley Hall, 1903-1906," May 1904, May 1905, and 9 May 1906.

[99] "Social Events," Globe (30 May 1910): 9.

[100] Nathanael Burwash to R.Y. Eaton, November 30, 1915, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924)."

[101] "Dr. F. Marlow Dies In His 60th Year," Mail and Empire (24 August 1936): 4.

> your first graduate take the first certificate ever granted to a woman for Gymnastics and Physical Drill in the history of the University of Toronto.[102]

16. Summary

Although sources on this formative period are limited, several conclusions can be made. Scott Raff's role was important as the person with a vision for the school, and for founding it. However, it was Margaret Eaton's financial support that would change this school from one of several schools that came and went, to one that would serve for a longer time and in a larger capacity. MES was guided by Toronto's elite and served as a kind of finishing school for wealthy women. The philosophy of the school, borrowed from the ancient Greeks, sought a harmonious alliance between the physical, mental and moral. The specifics of the curriculum focused on physical training, elocution, and drama. The perfection of the inner life came not through justification, in the Christian understanding of the term, but rather through a perfection of expression. Perhaps this view was less of a reflection of Timothy Eaton's more conservative Methodism, and more of a reflection of Margaret Eaton's more liberal perspective. In the school's educational process, Scott Raff wished constantly to pursue "true culture" as opposed to superficiality, which meant students should behave in a manner exemplified in that of "well-regulated families."

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[102] The News-of-the-School XVI, No 1 (Fall 1948): 1-2.

Chapter Four:
The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression (1906-1926)--Governance and Finance

With the financial backing of Margaret Eaton, the school took on a more visible and important role in the educational and cultural life of Toronto. Though the new building was especially suited for elocution and drama, it only partly satisfied the requirements for physical training--temporary solutions were found to accommodate the needs of physical activity as these needs increased throughout this period. The school was officially incorporated and shares offered; Margaret Eaton bought all of the shares except for seven, just enough so that there would be a board of eight people. These eight people were either family members, friends, or key employees of the Eatons. The school was essentially Margaret Eaton's. When the school incurred debts, which it did almost every year, Margaret Eaton absorbed them. Through a variety of circumstances the school changed considerably at the end of this period; this was due in no small part to a change of heart by Margaret Eaton. Emma Scott Raff continued to play an important role as the school's visionary, its administrator, and as the one who maintained Margaret Eaton loyalty and consequent financial support.

According to the Calendar 1918-1919, "By 1905 the School of Expression had outgrown the accommodation of the studio at Bloor and Yonge Streets. Mrs. Scott Raff recorded that Mr. Timothy Eaton, at his summer residence in Muskoka, said to her: `Go to Toronto and get Dr. Burwash to go with you, and buy land for a

school in which to incorporate your teaching.'"[1] In January of 1920, Emma Scott Raff was reminiscing about the past and recalled that it "is just seventeen years since first I visited in your [Margaret Eaton's] home and you and Mr. Eaton were so kindly interested in this work. It is just thirteen years this month since our School was opened."[2] In 1906, the School obtained a charter of incorporation. Although the name first considered was: "The Toronto School of Literature and Expression: The Margaret Eaton Hall,"[3] the eventual name given was in honour of Mrs. Eaton; "The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression."[4]

17. Members of the Board of Directors

With its new charter the school retained its Advisory Council, and appointed a Board of Directors. The Directors included: Margaret Eaton, Timothy Eaton (1906-1907), Chancellor Burwash (1906-1918), Margaret Burwash and Emma Scott Raff (1906-1925). In addition, there were several new names, each related to Timothy Eaton or the Eaton Company. There were: Sir John Craig Eaton, Timothy Eaton's youngest son (1906-1922); Josephine

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[1] 1918-1919 Calendar, 7; and "Margaret Eaton School Merged with University of Toronto," Globe and Mail (23 May 1942): 12.

[2] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, January 12, 1920, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[3] W.E. Middleton and R.C. Donald to The T. Eaton Co., Ltd., August 22, 1906, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes... (1906-1924)."

[4] Dorothy Jackson, A History of Three Schools, (Toronto: T. Eaton Company, 1953), 8-9; and Eaton, 195-196.

Burnside, eldest daughter of Timothy Eaton; Lady Eaton, John Eaton's wife (1922-); Robert Eaton, Timothy Eaton's nephew; Harry McGee, Timothy Eaton's right hand man; John J. Vaughan, Secretary in the Eaton Company Executive Office; George G. Nasmith, a friend of Timothy Eaton and later to be married to Emma Scott Raff, the school Principal (1924-1925), and Rev. Bowles (1925-1926), Chancellor at Victoria College.[5] When new members were named, that was preceded by the transfer of one share of the school's stock to them.[6]

Timothy Eaton was a key figure in the opening of the School; unfortunately he died less than a month following the formal opening of the "Greek Temple." Timothy Eaton was born in 1834 in Ireland, two months after his father died. The Potato Famine encouraged his two brothers to immigrate to Canada, while Timothy, at the age of thirteen, was indentured to his cousin to work in a general store in a town sixteen kilometres from his home. At the age of twenty, Timothy joined his brothers in Canada. In 1860, he and his brothers opened a dry-goods establishment. He married in 1862. By 1869 he went on his own and set up a dry-goods store at 178 Yonge Street in Toronto. His

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[5] Brackets indicate directorship term, no brackets indicate term began in 1906 and extended past 1926. Calendar 1908-1909; to Calendar 1925-1926: Physical Education, 3-6; Minutes of the Annual Meeting of Shareholders, October 24, 1911; Report to the President and Board of Directors from Emma Scott Raff, [Fall 1911]; Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, November 15, 1915, AO-EC: Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924);" AO-EC, Series 35, Box 2, "State of Affairs with Ontario Government;" and Linda Cobon, Lorraine O'Donnell, Tom Belton, Carolyn Heald and Larry Weiler, Preliminary Inventory of the T. Eaton Records, Volume I, (Toronto: Archives of Ontario, 1990), 1-3, 26 & 44.

[6] John A. Livingstone's Memorandum of Conversation with Mr. R.Y. Eaton Respecting the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, May 8, 1922, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

innovative policy of one-price cash sales only, his catering to female customers, his slogan "Goods satisfactory or money refunded," and--beginning in 1884--his annual mail-order catalogue, eventually led to the establishment of a multi-million dollar national department store.[7]

The Eatons had two sons. Edward was the eldest but died in a drowning accident in 1900.[8] John Craig, the second son, became the Vice-President in 1900, at the age of twenty-four.

Following Eaton's death, George G. Nasmith wrote a 312 page biography entitled Timothy Eaton.[9] It is not surprising, that as one of Timothy Eaton's friends, he speaks very positively about Eaton's life and work. He himself acknowledged that "No one as yet, has been able to give me more than admiration for him or hard facts about him, except my wife who has woven about him elements of romance."[10] As an example of his concern for his workers, Nasmith made special note of Eaton's action regarding closing his stores early Saturday afternoons in the summer.[11] Nasmith also spoke positively about both Timothy Eaton's involvements with MES, and the School itself. This is of course not unexpected since Nasmith's wife at the time was Principal of the School.[12]

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[7] Stephenson, 19-41.

[8] Ibid., 50.

[9] Nasmith, Timothy Eaton.

[10] George Nasmith to R.Y. Eaton, September 21, 1921, AO-EC, F229-8-0-215, "Biography of Timothy Eaton: (Re: Nasmith book)."

[11] Nasmith, 221.

[12] Nasmith, 270-272.

Timothy Eaton died January 31, 1907 in his 73rd year.[13] Lady Eaton noted that she was the only family member present at Timothy's death bed. The rest of the family was on their way to Ottawa where MES had entered a drama competition.[14]

The Rev. Chancellor Burwash also spoke at Timothy Eaton's funeral service. He traced the history of Timothy Eaton, and remarked that Eaton "became a Methodist not because it was more popular or fashionable or conducive for business, but because among this people he found the light of God's love."[15] He also noted how "The element of righteousness in business stood out in the forefront with him everywhere."[16] Others commented that Timothy held clear convictions, was honest, humble, and reverent.[17]

Sir John Craig Eaton,[18] Timothy Eaton's youngest son and usually called "Jack," was also a member of the MES Board during this period. He has been described as a carefree, party loving bachelor, loving plays and spirits as much as his father hated them. Apparently he became more serious when he married Flora McCrea in 1901.[19] John became vice-president of the Eaton Company in 1900, and assumed the presidency of the Company in 1907

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[13] Nasmith, 290.

[14] Eaton, Memory's Wall, 81-82.

[15] Rev. Chancellor Burwash sermon at St. Paul's Methodist Church on Sunday February 10, 1907, "In Memoriam Mr. Timothy Eaton," AO-EC, Pamphlet 1907, No. 60. p. 12.

[16] Burwash, 14.

[17] "Thousands of Employees View the Late Mr. Eaton," Toronto Daily Star (1 February 1907): 14.

[18] Eaton, Memory's Wall.

[19] Stephenson, 51.

following the death of his father.[20] In 1915 he was knighted in recognition of the Eaton's wartime service. This service included undertaking all war contracts at cost, lending his private yacht (sunk in the war) to the Canadian Navy, and paying more than $2,000,000 to employees in the Services.[21] He was also generous for other causes. He set up the Eaton Athletic Association, and sponsored several teams. In 1914 he provided funds for the building of the Timothy Eaton Memorial Church. He also provided funds for the Toronto General Hospital and endowed the first full-time Chair of Medicine in the British Empire. Dr. Duncan Graham was the first to occupy this chair, and was involved in the historic first injection of insulin in January 11, 1922.[22] John Craig died in March 1922, of pneumonia.[23] His philanthropy was described as "an inspiration no less than an example to other very rich men."[24]

Flora Eaton, or Lady Eaton as she was more commonly called,[25] was born in Omemee, near Peterborough, Ontario. She was

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[20] "The New Head of the T. Eaton Company," Star (1 February 1907): 14.

[21] Stephenson, 72-73.

[22] Stephenson, 71.

[23] "Sir John Eaton Leaves Estate of $13,089,622," Globe (10 June 1922): 22x; "Death Claims Sir John C. Eaton, Greatest Merchant of Dominion and Giant in Empire War Service," Globe (31 March 1922): 1 & 6; "New Business Ideals Under Driving Faith Basis of Big Success," Globe (31 March 1922): 6; "Sir John's Gift to Museum Has Placed Canada in Van of Furniture Manufacture," Globe (31 March 1922): 7; "Toronto Mourns Sir John Eaton," Globe (31 March 1922): 7; and Flora McCrea Eaton, Memory's Wall, (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1956), 139-141.

[24] Henry James Morgan, (Ed.) The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Hand-book of Canadian Biography of Living Characters, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), 362.

[25] Eaton, Memory's Wall.

a student nurse prior to her marriage with John Craig Eaton.[26] She has been described as "a great traveller and a social leader,... a staunch patron of the arts, all across Canada."[27] Prior to her husband's death she became a Director of the Eaton Company[28] and, following John's death, she became a Director of MES. In June of 1941 she was awarded an honourary degree by the University of Toronto. Dr. Cody, President of the University, spoke of her as the "princely benefactor of the faculty of medicine."[29]

Robert Young Eaton, also referred to as R.Y. Eaton, was Timothy Eaton's Nephew. Robert had worked for the Eaton Company in Europe, and began in 1902 to serve as the Secretary to the Company in Canada. He was the company's president from the time of Sir John's death in 1922 till Sir John's son, John David, took over the Presidency in 1942.[30] These 20 years correspond to the last 20 years of the history of MES.

Josephine Burnside, another director, was the eldest of Timothy Eaton's two daughters. She survived the sinking of the Lusitania, but lost her daughter on that voyage.[31] She received elocution lessons from Dora Mavor Moore ('11), a famous person in Canadian theatre. She had an unhappy marriage, and Moore felt

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[26] Stephenson, 51.

[27] Ibid., 106.

[28] Eaton, Memory's Wall, 141-152.

[29] "University of Toronto Confers Honourary Degree on Lady Eaton," Toronto Star (6 June 1941): 8.

[30] Cobon, 2; and Morgan, 363.

[31] Eaton, Memory's Wall, 121; and Donald Jones, "She Survived the Lusitania," Toronto Daily Star (3 May 1980): H7.

T.D.M Burnside married Josephine "only for her money."[32] Josephine died in May of 1941.[33]

Harry McGee, also an Irishman, was Timothy Eaton's key assistant after 1883. Later he served that role to John Craig Eaton and Robert Eaton. He "became the tough rock on which the Eaton empire was based," and remained with the Company for fifty-four years.[34] Following Timothy's death in 1907, McGee was appointed Second Vice President to the Company and First Vice President in 1922. In 1923 the organization changed at the Eaton Company to include five Vice Presidents, and McGee was one of those. McGee's special responsibilities included dealing with building operations.[35] He was well appreciated by the Company that on his forty-fifth anniversary, in 1928, he was presented with a Rolls Royce.[36] His relationship with Timothy Eaton and his specific work responsibilities suited him well to be on the Board of MES. He died in 1939. Perhaps unaware of his role in MES, there did not appear to be any MES faculty, staff or students at his funeral.[37]

John J. Vaughan was Secretary of the Eaton Company. In 1933

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[32] "Local colour learned from Mrs. D.M. Moore," April 25, 1964, Series 221, Container 6, "Eaton, Timothy Family."

[33] "Timothy Eaton Daughter Dies at Home Here," Evening Telegram (11 December 1943): 3; and "Mrs. Burnside Dead - Was on Lusitania," Daily Star (11 December 1943): 8.

[34] Stephenson, 31.

[35] Cobon, 2 & 26.

[36] Stephenson, 87.

[37] "Death Calls Harry McGee," Globe and Mail (11 April 1939): 6; "Eaton Stores Mark Funeral," Globe and Mail (12 April 1939): 5; "Simplicity Marks Rites for Col. Harry McGee," Globe (14 January 1939): 17 & 30; "Memorial Dedicated to Col. Harry M'Gee," and "Nativity of Our Lord," Daily Star (23 September 1940): 19.

he became a Vice-President in the company,[38] and retired in 1943.[39] R.Y. Eaton referred to Vaughan as "my tower of strength," and in the earlier years "he was a close personal friend and confidante of the late Sir John Eaton and had many business contacts with the late Mr. Timothy Eaton."[40] He was known as a cheerful and reliable person and often assisted the Eatons.[41] Prior to 1919, when he became a Director of the MES Board, he performed his secretarial work for this board without being a member.[42]

George G. Nasmith, born December 31, 1877,[43] was a friend of Timothy Eaton and on January 21, 1916, he married Emma Scott Raff, the school Principal.[44] Before his marriage to Scott Raff, she said of him, "he's got an ugly little body, but a pure white soul."[45] He used a special cushion to drive his car "because of the smallness of his stature," which on one occasion contributed

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[38] "Assuming High Office In Great Eaton Firm, J.J. Vaughan Honoured," Globe (27 October 1933): 1-2.

[39] "Gift of Two Ambulances Honors Eaton, Vaughan," Globe and Mail (19 January 1943): 7.

[40] "Biography - August 1961: John James Vaughan," AO-EC, Series 221, Container 2, "Mr. J.J. Vaughan, Vice-President."

[41] Eaton, Memory's Wall, 86.

[42] Minutes and correspondence during some of these years can be found in VUA, Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash, Box 9, File 135, "The Margaret Eaton School."

[43] B.W. Greene, (Ed.), Who's Who and Why 1921, (Toronto: International Press, 1921), 16; and "Lt-Col. Nasmith's Degree," Globe (17 May 1918): 10.

[44] They did visit with each other at least three years earlier in Owen Sound. UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," Summer 1913.

[45] Interview with Nora MacLennan, by the author, September 26, 1991.

to him being found guilty of negligence in a car accident.[46] He resigned from military service in the fall of 1916, and was made Companion of St. Michael and St. George for work done in the field in hygiene and sanitation, specifically dealing with water purification and his invention of a gas mask to combat gas attacks following his presence at Ypres when the Germans used gas.[47] He was loyal to England and encouraged Canadians to assist the "mother country."[48] He had directed the civic laboratories of Toronto's Health Department since 1910, where he was credited with improving Toronto's water supply and implementing "reforms to milk supply and the supervision of dairies." In 1918 he was awarded a Doctor of Public Health by the University of Toronto.[49] In 1919 he completed a six-hundred page volume on Canada's Sons and Great Britain in the War.[50] In 1920 he began a career as a consulting scientist with a firm of sanitary engineers.[51] In the following two years he gave two speeches on the topic of health.

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[46] "Farmer Given $4,323 in Collision Action," Daily Star (25 October 1934): 1.

[47] "Col. Nasmith Retires From Active Service," Globe (24 October 1916): 2; "Health Official Relinquishes Post," Mail and Empire (20 September 1919): 2; and "Art and Literary Leader Mrs. George Nasmith Dies," The Evening Telegram (17 February 1940): 3.

[48] "Big Change in World as Result of the War," Globe (24 May 1917): 9.

[49] "Lt-Col. Nasmith's Degree," Globe (17 May 1918): 10; "Honored Again - Col. Geo. G. Nasmith," Daily Star (17 May 1918): 1; and "A Guardian of Health," Toronto World (20 May 1918): 6.

[50] George C. Nasmith, Canada's Sons and Great Britain's in the World War, (Toronto: John C. Winston, 1919); and a review of this book in "Col. Nasmith on War," Evening Telegram (1 November 1919): 20. Two years earlier he also wrote On the Fringe of the Great Fight, (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart, 1917).

[51] "Health Official Relinquishes Post," Mail and Empire (20 September 1919): 2; and "Col. Nasmith to Resign," Evening Telegram (19 September 1919): 17.

To the Board of Trade, he argued for better health practices for the "working classes,"[52] and in a speech on "Health Conservation," given to the Samaritan Club, he argued for better education of health habits for children.[53] In addition, the 1921 Who's Who it was noted that he was born in Toronto, December 31, 1877, was a Baptist, a member of the Arts and Letters Club, and politically a Conservative.[54]

The members of the 1901-1906 Advisory Council were also on the new school's council. The only exceptions were Chancellor and Margaret Burwash who vacated their positions and became members of the Board of Directors. From 1908 to 1913, the Council members included: Dr. F. H. Torrington, Mrs. Torrington, Florence Withrow, Edward R. Wood, Frederick Tracy, Josephine S. Burnside and Professor Reynar. Rev. Dr. Withrow was only listed for 1908.[55] Again, no statement of the Council's specific role or activities has been located.

Mrs. Torrington had been the president of the Toronto's Local Council of Women for four years, and president of the National Council for seven years. She took a strong interest in social welfare, particularly in the 1880's when she was involved in the Toronto Relief Society. She was treasurer of the first Women's Residence at the University and a charter member of the Girl Guides. "As to her leadership in women's patriotic

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[52] "Seek to Promote National Health," Mail and Empire (27 April 1921): 5.

[53] "Rich and Poor Get Best Medical Help," Mail and Empire (15 April 1930): 14.

[54] B.W. Greene, (Ed.), Who's Who and Why 1921, (Toronto: International Press, 1921), 16.

[55] Calendar 1908-1909; to Calendar 1912-1913, 3 and 5.

organizations during the last war, that is too full a tale to be told in this space." She died March 11, 1941.[56]

Florence Withrow was a part-time faculty member during the years 1907-1910. She had a B.A. and taught "Greek, Roman, Medieval, English, French & Italian History; Art Legends, Sacred & Mythological; Rhine Legends & Teutonic Myths."[57] Rev. Dr. W.H. Withrow, her father, was also on the advisory board. He was a Methodist minister, a writer of several books, and organized numerous travel tours.[58]

Edward Rogers Wood was born in 1866. Originally a telegraph operator, he became a millionaire by 1911. He was described as "one of the ablest and most capable financial men in Canada." From his wealth he gave generously to Victoria College, University of Toronto, and the Y.M.C.A. He was also a Methodist.[59]

Professor Frederick Tracy was a professor at Victoria College. He died June 10, 1951, at the age of 90.[60]

18. Business of the Board of Directors

The Bylaws of MES, included in Appendix B, show that the

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[56] "Mrs. F.H. Torrington, President of the Toronto Branch of the National Council of Women," Globe (11 March 1905): 2; and "Mrs. Torrington Gave Widely of Her Talent," Globe and Mail (13 March 1941): 7.

[57] Calendar 1907-1908, as quoted by Jackson, 35.

[58] Beers, 30-31; and "Florence E. Withrow--World Traveller Stricken at 76," Globe and Mail (27 December 1947): 7.

[59] Morgan, 1182.

[60] "Tracy, Professor Frederick," Globe and Mail (11 June 1951): 26.

school was incorporated as a Company. As a Company it was to have annual Shareholders' meetings and a Board of Directors. MES was incorporated under the laws of the Province of Ontario as an unlimited company on August 3, 1906 for the purpose of conducting an educational institution. The company was capitalized at $40,000 consisting of 400 shares with a par value of $100 each, of which only 200 shares were issued.[61] In a memo regarding this incorporation, Margaret Eaton was to have 195 shares, and Rev. Burwash, Margaret Burwash, Timothy Eaton, and Emma Scott Raff, each received one share. Though no shares are listed by the names of J.C. Eaton and Harry McGee, their names were on a list of Board members.[62]

The "First Meeting of Provisional Directors" was held in 1906. Present at the meeting were Timothy Eaton, Margaret Eaton, Margaret Burwash, Emma Scott Raff, John Craig Eaton and Harry McGee. Nathanael Burwash's name was also listed but had been crossed off. This meeting was only a formality for purposes of electing Margaret Eaton and Emma Scott Raff as Secretaries for the meeting and "that a general meeting of the Shareholders of the company be immediately held for the purpose of organization."[63] This occurred directly after the meeting of provisional directors was adjourned, judging by the comments in

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[61] R.H. Pearson to Mr. J. Elliott, June 29, 1945, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School - Surrender of Charter".

[62] W.E. Middleton and R.C. Donald to The T. Eaton Co., Ltd., August 22, 1906, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes... (1906-1924)."

[63] Minutes of the First Meeting of Provisional Directors," 1906, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes... (1906-1924)."

the "Minutes of First Meeting of Shareholders." In those minutes it was noted that "formal notice calling the meeting was dispensed with," and "[t]hat the Minutes of the Provisional Directors' meeting just held be approved." At this meeting the same people were present as in the Provisional Directors' meeting. Approved at the meeting were the above two notices and the: appointment of Timothy Eaton to the Chair and J.J. Vaughan as Secretary, adoption of the Letters Patent as the Charter of the Company, and that a board of seven people be adopted as the Directors: Nathanael Burwash, Timothy Eaton, Margaret Eaton, Margaret Burwash, Emma Scott Raff, John Craig Eaton and Harry McGee.[64] Immediately following this meeting the first meeting of Directors could take place. At that meeting the same people were present, Nathanael Burwash was elected as president and the general by-laws were adopted.[65] The fourth official meeting which directly followed was a general meeting of the Shareholders in which the By-laws of the Company were adopted.[66]

Typically the meetings were uneventful. Minutes were approved, the principal presented a report, and approval was given of the financial statements, the Board of Directors, and the Auditor.[67]

In the Bylaws, there is mention of a Register and a Transfer

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[64] Minutes of the First Meeting of Shareholders, 1906, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes... (1906-1924)."

[65] Minutes of the First Meeting of Directors, 1906, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes... (1906-1924)."

[66] Minutes of a General Meeting of the Shareholders, 1906, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes... (1906-1924)."

[67] Minutes of the Annual Meeting of Shareholders, October 24, 1911; Directors Meeting, October 28, 1918, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

Book that would list the "Shareholder and Proxy and Director," but unfortunately this document could not be located. The Board of Directors remained unchanged unless someone died or resigned. The minutes usually noted the following motion: "That the Directors of last year, namely,... be elected for the ensuing year. Carried."[68] The Board of Directors and all the shareholders were one and the same. There was a separate shareholders meeting and directors meeting only to satisfy legal requirements.

Margaret Eaton maintained control over who was a Shareholder with the inclusion of the following clause. "No share in the stock of the said Company shall be transferred unless with the consent of Mrs. Timothy Eaton, who shall signify such consent by her signature in Transfer Book."[69]

It seems that by common understanding Margaret Eaton's role was crucial, and important business would not be transacted without her presence. In a letter from the Secretary, J.J. Vaughan, to Chancellor Burwash, he wrote: According to the Bylaws of the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, the annual meeting of the shareholders is to be held today. As Mrs. Eaton has not yet returned from Muskoka, we called a meeting of the shareholders here, and adjourned until the call of the President. The meeting can now be held any time you and Mrs. Eaton arrange.[70]

In addition these evening meetings were usually held at Margaret

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[68] Minutes of the Shareholders, November 8th, 1909, VUA, Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash, Box 9, File 135, "The Margaret Eaton School."

[69] "Bylaws," Victoria University Archives, Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash, VUA, Box 9, File 135, "The Margaret Eaton School."

[70] Letter from J.J. Vaughan to Chancellor Burwash, September 21, 1909, VUA, Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash, Box 9, File 135, "The Margaret Eaton School."

Eaton's home.[71]

Chancellor Burwash continually held the post of President until his death in 1918.[72] Following his death, a newspaper article on the history of his life made no mention of the important contributions he made to MES.[73] Margaret Eaton then assumed the presidency.[74]

The responsibilities of the Board varied. They included dealing with legal matters and matters of finance. The Board, in overseeing the school's finances, appointed and fixed the salaries of the Faculty. One 1909 decision that at first glance seems inconsequential is the change of the meeting date from the third week in September to the fourth Tuesday in October.[75] A consequence of this decision was that approval of the faculty and their salaries did not occur until the school year was already in progress. This would tend to suggest that the Board's role was perhaps more symbolic than of real consequence. Emma Scott Raff

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[71] Minutes of the Annual Meeting of Shareholders, October 24, 1911; J.J. Vaughan to Dr. N. Burwash, October 15, 1917; J.J. Vaughan to Directors, June 5, 1918; Notice of Annual Meeting, October 28, 1918; Notice of Annual Meeting, December 29, 1919; Notice of Annual Meeting, January 12, 1919; Notice of the Annual Meeting, November 3, 1920; Notice of the Annual Meeting, November 3, 1920; Notice of Annual Meeting, June 27, 1921, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[72] J.J. Vaughan to Directors, June 5, 1918, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924);" "Veteran Educator Has Passed Away," Globe (1 April 1918): 1; and "Burwash Memorial Service in Victoria Chapel To-night," Globe (4 April 1918): 8.

[73] "Noted Canadian Educator, Rev. Dr. Burwash, is Dead," Globe (1 April 1918): 8.

[74] Jackson, 16; and Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, November 4, 1918, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[75] Minutes of Annual Shareholders Meeting, November 8th, 1909, VUA, Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash, Box 9, File 135, "The Margaret Eaton School."

reported that in 1911 that "Mrs. Eaton and our Directors generously increased our teachers' salaries thereby increasing the loss to Mrs. Eaton's account to $1,573.63."[76] It would appear that the major decisions were made between the annual Directors meetings, and even then the Directors would look to Margaret Eaton. Dissenting votes did not occur.

One of the duties of board members was to attend formal presentations at or by the school.[77] Margaret Eaton would go the extra mile, for example, in 1914 she "very graciously visited the work in Brantford and it was a proud day for some of us that she was able to see some of the extension work of the school which bears her name."[78]

a. The building

Moving in 1907 from rented quarters on the second floor of an office building to its own building changed MES from an obscure school to one very visible, from a temporary building to a more permanent one. To make the new building a reality:

> Land was secured and a building erected on North Street, now Bay Street, just south of Bloor Street. Mr. Harry McGee was appointed as the representative of the T. Eaton Company Limited to confer on the plans.... Land, building and furnishings were the

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[76] Report from Emma Scott Raff to the Board of Directors, Fall 1911, VUA, Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash, Box 9, File 135, "The Margaret Eaton School."

[77] "Social Events," Globe (24 May 1917): 4; (24 May 1918): 4; (15 June 1923): 16x; (16 June 1923): 19x; and (16 June 1924): 14x; "Society," Mail and Empire (21 June 1924): 31; "School Graduates Urged to Maintain Spirit of Youth," Globe, (29 May 1926): 17; and "News of Women's Organizations," Globe, (29 May 1926): 17.

[78] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, October 1914, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

gift of Mr. Timothy Eaton for his wife.[79]

The public opening of the School took place on January 7, 1907.[80] The large hall of the School was reportedly "filled to its capacity by a distinguished and highly sympathetic audience." This audience included the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, and representatives from Victoria College, Chancellor Burwash, from the University of Toronto, Professor Ramsay Wright and Professor Tracy; from Trinity College, Reverend Professor Clark and Professor Alexander; as well as a minister, the Reverend Freeman.[81] Appreciation was given for the building, named Kalokagathon, or Greek Temple. The building was a copy of the legislative buildings in Athens, which had been just built, which in turn was a copy of the Parthenon. It was noted at that time that the architect,

> Mr. W. R. Mead, has in a general way followed out the ideas of the Grecian architect, Praxiteles. From the pillared portico one enters on the tiled floor of a hall, on the right of which is a copy reception room and on the left the office. The hall leads on to the theatre or auditorium, the dimensions of which are 42 x 42 feet, including the platform. Over the reception and office rooms is a balcony, ordinarily to be used as a library for the students. This is 16 x 42 feet. Studios and class rooms are in the rear. The auditorium will accommodate about 500. The fittings are of quarter-cut oak, and all through the place the idea of simplicity and of antique shapes and finish has been followed. In the arrangements for heating and ventilation no expense has been spared; the most up-to-date methods have been adopted in every way. The total cost of the school will be in the neighbourhood of $40,000, including the site.

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[79] Jackson, 8.

[80] "A Beautiful Teaching Centre." The Globe (19 January 1907): 11.

[81] "Social Events," Globe (8 January 1907): 5; and "The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression," News (8 January 1907): 4.

> In the studio of the principal, Mrs. Scott Raff, the beautiful dark antique fittings are accompanied by splendid rugs from the Orient, curios from Athens and Constantinople, brass work, statuary, ancient medallions in copper, in all a perfect feast for the eyes of an antiquary; the only modern touch is furnished by the presence of a piano, and even that is in the unique dark grain of the woodwork throughout.[82]

Though the money came from the Eatons, the vision, politicking, and prestige, came from, and for, Emma Scott Raff. About 1903, Scott Raff had gone to Athens, Greece. She recalled: "The Library in Athens made such a strong appeal to my imagination that my one idea was to come back to Canada and have a place built on just simple, beautiful lines, a place in which I might do my work." When she returned to her "inadequate" quarters on Yonge Street, she "confided in one of my friends, Mrs. Timothy Eaton, my desire, and she said, `I will ask father (as she called her husband) to build you a school.'"[83] She "confided" in the right person, got her building and a magnificent office to work from.

Among the opening formalities was what was later to become an important event. Scott Raff would refer to this later when the Eatons sought to close the school. It was reported: "a most interesting part of the ceremony was the presentation, by the late Mr. Timothy Eaton, of the keys of the building to the Principal, Mrs. Scott Raff. By a quaint device they were given in the form of a large silver door key, which, upon being opened,

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[82] "The Margaret Eaton School....," News. With an auditorium that was 42 feet by 42 feet it is unlikely that it would seat 500, but it would certainly seat half that number.

[83] "Canadian Women in the Public Eye," Saturday Night (11 September 1920): 26. Emphasis added.

disclosed a golden latch-key."[84]

Elizabeth Fleming, an instructor at the School in 1908, suggested that the building well reflected the goals of the School, or at least a romanticized and idealized understanding of Ancient Greek culture.

> Even a passing glance at this building carries us in thought to another world--remote, yet more or less familiar--and upon the hurry and fret of our modern, western life falls a breath from the past, a touch of the calm and serenity of the age of the Parthenon, that serenity which is not apathy, but the equanimity of mental and bodily health. So does the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression express, by its exterior, its fundamental idea....[85]

From 1908 to 1913, the praises of the building and the generosity of Margaret Eaton continued to be extolled, particularly in the School's Calendars.

> It is with great pleasure that we announce to our friends that through the liberality of Mrs. Timothy Eaton our school has been furnished with a beautiful and commodious home in the City of Toronto. The new building,... is located on a convenient site near the university and colleges, easily accessible from all parts of the city, and in convenience and artistic beauty is all that our friends can desire.[86]

For three years the Calendars made no mention of the building or its donor. Then from 1919 to 1924 the Calendars again highlighted the history of the building, the contributions of the Eatons, and the advantageous location of the school.[87]

The School's curriculum and the interests of students

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[84] Professor D.R. Keyes, "The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression," University of Toronto Monthly VIII, No. 5 (March 1907): 124-126; and "The Margaret Eaton School...," News.

[85] Calendar 1909-1910, 8-9.

[86] Calendar 1908-1909, 4; Calendar 1909-1910, 7; Calendar 1910-1911, 7; and Calendar 1912-1913, 8.

[87] Calendar 1916-1917; to Calendar 1924-1925: 7-9.

eventually made additional gymnasium space necessary. Previously MES had made some use of the Annesley Hall facility, as well as the auditorium--all the chairs would be moved to the side.[88] One of the joys of 1918 was Eaton's acquisition of the old Y.M.C.A. building, at the corner of Yonge and McGill streets, and their permission for MES to use it. Emma Scott Raff noted:

> the opening of the Eaton Club which has honoured us by seeking for its instructors among our teachers and graduates. Last year hundreds of business women sprang at a word, and a great club came into being, a club that must be of incalculable value from the standpoint of morals, which maketh for health. Then, too, these great and spacious club rooms were placed at our disposal and Extension Work for our own School made possible.[89]

In 1925 the school vacated its previous building because the street was widened and the front of the building needed to be removed. They then moved to the corner of Yonge and McGill streets. No mention is made of Margaret Eaton in the 1925 Calendars. The Calendar for the Drama Department noted the importance of the building's "Little Theatre," and the role Forsyth had in directing a series of productions.[90] Meanwhile, for the first time there was a separate Calendar for the Physical Education Department. It noted that: "In this building there has been installed a thoroughly equipped gymnasium, and an enlarged and remodelled swimming tank, with a modern filtration system."[91]

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[88] Interview with Nora MacLennan, by the author, September 26, 1991.

[89] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, November 4, 1918, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924);" and Jackson, 17; for more information on the Eaton Girls' Club see Ken MacTaggart, "An Outsider Looks at the Inside of Eaton's--Eaton's Girls' Club," Globe and Mail (9 August 1944): 22.

[90] Calendar 1925-1926: Literature and Dramatic Art, 5.

[91] Calendar 1925-1926: Physical Education, 5.

Beyond the pressure for additional space there was also another important matter which encouraged the Board to look for potential buildings to house the School. In a 1913 letter from the City of Toronto, the demolition of the newly built "Greek Temple", as it was often called in the newspapers, appeared imminent because the city sought to widen North Street and fourteen feet of the front of the building would have to be removed.[92] The decision on implementing the widening of North Street did not occur until 1922. The demolition did not happen until 1925.[93] At least one student was pained by this and noted that it is "sad that progress takes precedence over greatness."[94]

A record of the end of this era of the school's history is provided in a local paper, The Mail and Empire,

> The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression last night witnessed the completion of one of the most vital chapters in its history, when the 1925 commencement was held, and marked the last occasion the present building at Bay and Bloor Streets would be used by the School."[95]

b. Finances

The financial records for the School, beginning in 1906,

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[92] J.C. Forman, Department of Assessment, to The T. Eaton Co., Limited, July 18, 1913, VUA, Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash, Box 9, File 135, "The Margaret Eaton School."

[93] "Mrs Timothy Eaton Passes at Oakville," Star (20 March 1933): 3; and "Margaret Eaton School Merged with University of Toronto," Globe and Mail (23 May 1942): 12.

[94] Irma Moyer Manning, "Margaret Eaton School," in "Welcome to our Reunion--The 45th Year of the Class of '39," in a file of the author, received from Winnifred McLennan. Was also published by the Recollection Group of Ryerson Polytechnical Institute in Toronto.

[95] "Hold Last Gathering In the Old Building," Mail and Empire (12 June 1925).

have been stored with the Eaton Collection at the Archives of Ontario. These records include: Cash Books for the years 1907-1930,[96] Journals for the years 1907-1936 and 1940-1941,[97] Ledgers for the years 1933-1941,[98] a Petty Cash book for the years 1939-1940,[99] and a Private Ledger for the years 1925-1941.[100] Records from the opening of the School till 1906 could not be located. Records for the years 1937 to 1940 have been destroyed;[101] yearly ledger sheets are also available for the years 1920-1926.[102]

A detailed summary of the school's finances is provided on Table 2. At the bottom of the columns are several cumulative rows. The Eaton's salary account is what the school owed the Eaton Company. The Eaton company paid the faculty salaries and MES was to pay them back. Unfortunately, MES did not pay them back and in 1923 Margaret Eaton absorbed that debt. Whenever the school was in debt, Margaret Eaton would pay what was owing. The Mrs. Eaton account is a cumulative record of what the school owed her, and never did pay. The annual income and expenses for the School and the residences, plus the cumulative debt, are

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[96] Cash Book, AO-EC, Series 127, Volume 741, "1907-1921"; Volume 742, "1921-1926"; and Volume 743, "1926-1930".

[97] Journal, AO-EC, Series 127, Volume 735, "1907-1919"; Volume 736, "1919-1923"; Volume 737, "1923-1926"; Volume 738, "1926-1931"; and Volume 740, "1940-1941".

[98] Ledger, AO-EC, Series 127, Volume 441, "1933-1941"; and Volume 440, "1938-1941".

[99] Petty Cash, AO-EC, Series 127, Volume 695, "1939-1940".

[100] Private Ledger, AO-EC, Series 127, Volume 694, "1925-1941".

[101] Private Ledger, AO-EC, Series 127, Volume 694, "1925-1941", 133.

[102] AO-EC: Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Ledger Sheets...," (1920-1926).

graphically shown on Figure 1. The most striking feature of Figure 1 is the growth and size of the cumulative debt. This debt increased moderately by 1914 to $9,864; an average of $1,233 per year. By 1924 the debt had risen to $39,032; an average of $2,651 per year since 1914. The fiscal years 1925 and 1926 were disastrous with the cumulative debt soaring to $62,341; an $8,024 deficit in 1925 and a staggering $15,279 deficit in 1926 alone. From 1926 to the School's closing, the deficit remained relatively stable. The deficit fell modestly to $59,157 by 1942; an average annual decrease of $212 during this final period.

Table 2: Finances, 1906-1926

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Figure 1: Margaret Eaton School, 1902-1942 Finances

During this time Emma Scott Raff reported on the finances, something which was not one of her strengths. Her financial advice to Dora Mavor ('11), in 1912 was, "[m]oney is not for your soul work. That can never be paid for but paid for the physical part to nourish that so that the soul can have a chance."[103] Money for her was not a priority, but strictly a means to an end. In 1912 she advised the Board of Directors of the finances but focused on the receipts.[104] In 1913, with the debt increasing, she carefully redirects the financial problems, before offering an explanation. She noted:

> Last year I came to our annual meeting with a glad heart over the large financial increase and the promising outlook for a big school, and this year, in spite of our financial report, I come more hopeful and even more optimistic because I know that from an academic standpoint, our school has found its place and is on the very threshold of great undertakings and activities. Our foundation is sure and pioneer work has been done and is being done for a school that will last....

She then listed various excuses for the debt, such as teachers' salaries and illness, as well as a loss of students through "illnesses and other reasons over which we had no control and can accept no responsibility."[105]

In 1914, Emma Scott Raff reported on the school's growth and again avoided mention of the growing debt.[106]

By 1915, Emma Scott Raff began to partially dismiss the debt

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[103] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," 30 September 1912.

[104] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, November 1911, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[105] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, October 1913, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[106] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, October 1914, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

and simply to express gratitude to Margaret Eaton. She wrote: "The Margaret Eaton School is not making money, but it is making progress.... The School is making progress and growing in influence and numbers.... We are indebted to Mrs. Eaton for an increase in salary and.... for continued patronage and care."[107] But the Directors, or at least Robert Eaton, wanted to press the issue as to the future of the school. To that end Emma Scott Raff and N. Burwash responded. Scott Raff wrote that faculty salaries had been very low but in 1913 were "kindly raised." However, this was off-set by increased number of students. She felt that the school had a dedicated faculty who were "doing and always have done their best for the school, regardless of pay." She felt that the school could accommodate more students and to that end it might be wise to expand the physical education program and merge the Drama program with Expression, but since Margaret Eaton was inclined to continue Drama this was not done.[108] Scott Raff went on to argue that the issue MES has been struggling with for five years could be solved had "we a number of valuable scholarships, I believe that would solve the problem and bring to the school students of individual genius to specialize."[109] Scott Raff did not indicate where this scholarship money was to come from and her advice was not acted upon.

There was also concern over the future of the school and

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[107] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, November 15, 1915, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[108] Emma Scott Raff to Mr. Eaton, November 22, 1915, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[109] Ibid.

what direction it should go. In 1915, N. Burwash raised several questions in this respect, and proposed several solutions. The first question was whether the school was "to be a permanent institution founded by Mrs. Eaton and bearing her name, or is it to terminate with her life or Mrs. Raff's ability to carry it forward?" To this he argued that

> Now we know what the School can do in the shape of good work. It can give a good training in Physical Culture, a taste for good literature, including French, and the power to use the English language correctly and expressively in reading, conversation and composition. Our strong points are Physical Culture and the correct and expressive use of English, and a taste for good literature--all important elements of a superior education.... Already in ten years sixty-five have graduated in a full course, many of whom are now teaching in different parts of the country. This, of course, is the argument in favour of its maintenance in perpetuity.[110]

The questions were, what would this cost and how could this be financed? In comparing the 1915 budget with the 1904 budget, Burwash noted: "income has been multiplied by three and one-fifth while expense is multiplied by five and two-fifths. This has converted a surplus of $329.00 into a deficit of $2016.00." Based on these figures he suggested that debt has come with the school's "enlargement and independence...." Burwash did not think that the fees could be raised for full-time as these fees were on par with other similar institutions. He also felt that raising the fees for "miscellaneous students," as he referred to the part-time students, "would probably exclude them and bring the missionary work of the school to an end." He felt the best manner to deal with the finances would be basically one of three options. The first was through scholarships. In this connection

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[110] N. Burwash to Mr. Eaton, November 30, 1915, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

he argued that through scholarships "the number of full course students might be increased. Sixteen additional full course students would cover the deficit." A second option, was to create an "endowment of say $40,000.00, or a special bonus for a defined period of say $2,000.00 a year would do the same thing--more certainly." The third option involved increasing the number of "General Culture Students." He felt this could be done by giving "greater attention to English composition,..." and by placing a "special emphasis on Physical Education." He thought these two changes would make "make the General Course and the Teachers' Course more popular and more useful."[111] None of his suggestions were acted upon.

Obviously there was friction and Emma Scott Raff, perhaps feeling to blame for the financial losses, prepared the following note for the Directors:

> I desire to tender my resignation as Principal of the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression to take effect at the close of the present School year. With the hope that this work will prosper under a new and more competent head.[112]

However, a handwritten note at the bottom of this memo indicates that it was "not submitted."

In 1918 financial optimism, and perhaps naivete, remained, though Scott Raff did suggest a cause for the debt. She wrote: "The liabilities of the previous year were reduced by $855.45. In view of the exigencies of War, and judging by the universal losses to all educational institutions, ours is not a

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[111] Ibid.

[112] Emma Nasmith to Mrs Eaton, the President and Directors of the Margaret Eaton School, February 23, 1916, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

discouraging one." Upon reflecting on the financial figures she concluded "the main reason of our loss has been because of the raise in the salaries." But to this she added: "Our late President, Dr. Burwash, made this claim: `Keep the fees for education as low as possible, but have the best teachers possible.' Since the opening of this school, and before, Dr. Burwash had been working on the salary problem. We think we have arrived at a living wage, when up goes the prices." After arguing for the fairness of the salary she again turned to Margaret Eaton. "So to you, Mrs. Eaton, we look for patronage in the future as in the past. We know that you will be the friend of your own School...."[113]

The faculties' salaries were more closely examined as they were considered to be a large part of the problem. Scott Raff pointed out that, in 1918, salaries for school teachers ranged from $700-2500 and for administrators $1600-2700.[114] When these are compared to MES salaries, such as Scott Raff at $1,000, Charlotte Ross at $1,000, and Mary Hamilton at $883, one appreciates that MES salaries were very low but were also the school's greatest expense, and so they continued to be scrutinized. One innovative and ruthless solution was suggested, called the "decimal system." Essentially a system in which teachers would get paid per "pupil-lesson." It was thought that while "this plan would not make the best teachers strive any harder than they do now, it would have the effect of increasing

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[113] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, November 4, 1918, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[114] Ibid.

the earning of those teachers who have the greatest earning power for the school and would weed out those whose earning power is such that they are parasites."[115] This may have been a way of removing the Drama program, though calling Ross a parasite is harsh. But this approach was not acted upon either.

One opportunity for gaining additional students was realized in 1919, however, it seems from student enrolment that the effects were minimal. In the Spring of 1919, the Toronto Conservatory of Music sought to close its Department of Expression and give this to MES. Following some discussion,[116] the agreement below was proposed and adopted.[117] The four conditions of this agreement were as follows:

> 1. That the Conservatory shall, at the close of this season, discontinue its own School of Expression and announce, in its advertisements, that the work of its Department of Expression will be conducted through the Margaret Eaton School.
>
> 2. That on all registrations at the Margaret Eaton School, resulting through the proposed arrangement with the Conservatory, the Conservatory shall be entitled to a commission of fifteen percent.
>
> 3. That in the Year Book of the Conservatory, the present reading matter relative to the Conservatory's School of Expression shall be replaced by announcements drawing attention to the arrangement with the Margaret Eaton School.
>
> 4. That students of the Conservatory School of Expression who may have passed the first or second, Associate or Licentiate Examinations shall be accorded

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[115] Report, October 23, 1918, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[116] R.Y. Eaton to John [Vaughan], April 10, 1919; and J.J. Vaughan to Mrs. Nasmith, April 19, 1919, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[117] J.J. Vaughan to R.Y. Eaton, April 24, 1919; J.J. Vaughan to Mrs. Nasmith, May 1, 1919; J.J. Vaughan to Dr. Vogt, May 5, 1919; and J.J. Vaughan to Mrs. Nasmith, May 6, 1919, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

> similar standing in the Margaret Eaton School; but the final, or graduating examination of the Margaret Eaton School shall be required of them before the Diploma of the school is awarded.[118]

In addition to these points, Dr. Vogt, the Musical Director of the Conservatory, raised a note of caution by stating that the present head of the Conservatory School of Expression, Dr. F.H. Kirkpatrick, planned to establish his own school. Vogt and Kirkpatrick were of the opinion that due to the allegiance of alumnae, they expected such a new school to be successful, and consequently minimize the benefits to MES of the Conservatory's closing of it's School of Expression.[119]

In many of Emma Scott Raff's reports to the Directors she pleaded for the continuance of the school. In 1919 she craftfully pleaded her case, basing her argument on the will of Timothy Eaton and Dr. Burwash. First she noted how Timothy Eaton was a "great man," with a "great heart... great soul... and big brain" who "gave life to this colossal commercial enterprise [Eaton Company]." Having established Timothy's genius, she then adds that he "stepped aside long enough to investigate and to probe, and then gladly to give and proudly to build this school and call it by the name of the woman he loved." She then plays on the Directors' emotions and noted that Timothy gave this school "because mother wants it." To those not inclined to emotionalism she added that Timothy also "believed in its fundamental teaching." As to Nathanael Burwash, the previous Chancellor of Victoria College, she quoted him as saying, "[t]his

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[118] A.S. Vogt to J.J. Vaughan, April 22, 1919, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[119] Ibid.

school will come into its own after the war. You are twenty years ahead of your time." Then as a final punch she implored the Directors "to keep the vision and the faith of our fathers."[120] How could they refuse? They did not in 1919, but by 1924, the Directors no longer supported her.

What followed 1919 were several very difficult financial years. Those years contributing most significantly to the debt include 1920, 1922, 1925 and 1926. The debts for these years were respectively, $7,139, $6,215, $8,024, and $15,279. These four years combined make up 62 per cent of the total debt. The 1926 year equals 26 per cent of the total debt. What contributed to the debt for these years?

Three major items impacted on the deficit for the 1920 fiscal year. On the positive side, income from fees almost doubled, totalling $13,648. This $6,727 improvement was largely offset by two factors. First, this is the first year of residence, and start up costs created a $2,198 deficit during this year. Secondly, salaries also increased an additional $5,206, to $14,652, an amount which exceeded the total income of the school. This increase in the salary account was due in part to slightly higher salaries, but more significantly by increased faculty.

For the 1922 fiscal year two positive and one negative factors should be noted. On the positive side, the residence made a profit of $1,409 and student fees brought in $3,673 more than the prosperous year 1921. However, salaries jumped $10,015,

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[120] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, January 12, 1920, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

to $25,272, contributing significantly to a high deficit for this year. Salaries increased that year by ten per cent, and many new staff and faculty were added.

For the fiscal year ending in 1925 almost all entries remained consistent with the years directly previous. The one exception is student fees which decreased $7,029, to $19,036. This substantial amount most significantly affected the 1925 deficit.

For the fiscal year ending in 1926 the school had departments in drama and physical culture, as well as a residence and a theatre. The residence gained a profit of $660 that year. Drama, physical culture, and theatre experienced losses respectively of $8,372, $3,224 and $4,344. For drama, the salaries made up 88 per cent of the total expenses at $14,358. The student fees made up almost 100 per cent of the total income at $7,907.[121] Obviously the size of the faculty, or at least their salaries, could not be sustained by existing enrolment. This was not the case for physical culture where salaries totalled $13,009 and student fees contributed $13,271.[122]; a slight profit. However, the other expenses could not be met by the income. In theatre, seven productions were given and each one produced a deficit, averaging $812 and totalling $5,687. These deficits were only partially offset by theatre rentals for the year, at $1,543.[123]

The debt, which grew year after year after year, was assumed

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[121] Private Ledger, AO-EC, Series 127, Volume 694, "1925-1941", 34.

[122] Private Ledger, 35.

[123] Private Ledger, 45.

by Margaret Eaton and the Eaton Company. The School never borrowed money from the Bank or any other institution or person. As the School incurred debts Margaret Eaton paid for various items, such as the coal for heating. Also, the Eaton Company Salary account paid for some of the salaries when School funds were deficient. By 1922, the School had accumulated a total debt in their Salary account of $18,144. In 1922, under instructions from John Livingstone, an Assistant Secretary with the T. Eaton Company, this amount was transferred to the Mrs. T. Eaton Special Account.[124] By 1925 the cumulative debt had risen to $47,061, at which point Margaret Eaton assumed $31,876, thereby decreasing the School's debt to $15,185. At the time of incorporation, 2,000 shares of $100 each had been issued by the Margaret School of Literature and Expression Company, but not paid for until June 30, 1924.[125] Margaret Eaton purchased all of these shares. On account of the School's debt when it closed, these shares were worthless. One wonders if Margaret Eaton had paid this $20,000 in 1906 if the finances would have been different. If this $20,000 had been invested at a modest interest rate of four per cent, this would have generated $800 a year, or $16,000 from 1906 to 1926. This would not have covered the total debt but would have helped. Margaret Eaton's total financial contribution to the School was $51,876, not including the costs of buying and selling of the school property, building and residences. However, once the building was sold, the purchase money went to

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[124] Journal, AO-EC, Series 127, Volume 736, "1919-1923", 164.

[125] Journal, AO-EC, Series 127, Volume 737, "1923-1926", 94.

pay the deficit Margaret Eaton had accepted during these years.[126] Margaret Eaton had purchased the property for the school for $4,125, on the 24th of October 1905.[127] The total cost of the school was estimated at $40,000 to $50,000 at the time of construction. She sold the property to the City of Toronto on the 23rd of May 1924 for $72,500,[128] a nice profit of $22,500 to $32,500 depending on whose estimate was most accurate. Subtracting these amounts from the $51,876, the school actually cost her approximately $19,000 to $29,000, depending upon the original cost of the building.

c. Amalgamation with the University of Toronto

Positioning itself amongst other colleges and universities was an early goal of the Directors. In the MES 1908 Board meeting it was moved "that application be made for affiliation with Toronto University."[129] Chancellor Burwash was instructed to

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[126] Mrs. Nasmith to J.J. Vaughan, September 12, 1924, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "1924-1929 Correspondence with Mrs. Nasmith".

[127] This site is located in the City of Toronto on Plan 139, Lot 4 and 5, and is described as 52'6" W. North St. X 132' long, 145'6" South of Bloor St. and Running South, Land Registry Office - City of Toronto, Volume 257.

[128] "Margaret W. Eaton to The Corporation of the City of Toronto," 23 May 1924, Donald, Mason, White & Associates, City Solicitors, Land Registry - City of Toronto, 3142 EP (11-079), Volume 257.

[129] Minutes of the Director's meeting, October 6, 1908, VUA, Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash, Box 9, File 135, "The Margaret Eaton School."

pursue this matter.[130] Nothing came of this at the time.

d. Emma Scott Nasmith's resignation and changes

As early as August of 1924, Emma Scott Nasmith again felt the writing was on the wall. In a note to Robert Eaton she wrote: "I knew as soon as I left you that there was no other way but to go steadily on for another year at least. During that time we will no doubt know what to do and how to close our School--if it has to be closed--with honor and dignity."[131] In this note she expressed considerable concern over "last years loss." However, little did she know that the $4,210.68 loss incurred in 1924 was considerably lower than the two subsequent years.

Robert Eaton responded with a severe business critique of Emma Nasmith's management of the School. He thanked her for her letter but wondered why "you give no opinion on the other subject discussed, namely on what basis it [the School] should be carried on." He then argued:

> the School depends not merely on the good work it is accomplishing but also on its ability to pay its way.... Therefore, if it is the desire of the Board to see the School continued, something should be done that would give promise of it being put upon a paying basis. Under your management the School has shown a loss over a period of years and you offer no prospect of any other result. I tried to hint to you that before concluding that if the School could not pay its

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[130] J.J. Vaughan to Chancellor Burwash, October 12, 1908, VUA, Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash, Box 9, File 135, "The Margaret Eaton School."

[131] Mrs. Nasmith to Mr. Eaton, August 24, 1924, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "1924-1929 Correspondence with Mrs. Nasmith".

> way, its management might be tried in other hands. If then no sign of the financial showing becoming satisfactory the School might have to close owing to lack of funds. This is in my opinion the ordinary course that in such circumstances would be proposed by a dutiful Board of Directors. I do not know what the Board will do about it, but in case you cannot offer to conduct the School so as to be self supporting, and the Board do not decide upon some forward step that would give promise of satisfactory results I prefer not to be re-elected to it at the next Annual Meeting.[132]

Meanwhile, the idea of closing the School was presented to Margaret Eaton by J.J. Vaughan. In his letter he outlined several points, which he had discussed with R.Y. Eaton and H. McGee, and which they felt needed to be decided upon prior to the Annual Meeting. Vaughan argued that since the city had expropriated the building and remodelled it, the building was no longer suitable for School purposes. To provide a new facility would cost up to $200,000.00. Besides this investment Margaret Eaton should also consider the annual losses incurred by the School. He concluded by offering the following:

> If you do not wish the School continued further considering the capital outlay and the yearly loss as mentioned the School might be honorably discontinued at the end of a year for the specific reason that the city has expropriated the property, the building left being entirely unsuitable for the purposes on account of the noise from the street cars and the poor entrance owing to the cutting off of the front of the building to widen the street.[133]

Considering Margaret Eaton's previous commitment to the School, her response is surprising.

> I wish to say I would not under any consideration be responsible for a new school. So far as I am concerned it may be discontinued at the end of the

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[132] R.Y. Eaton to Mrs. Nasmith, August 27, 1924, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "1924-1929 Correspondence with Mrs. Nasmith".

[133] J.J. Vaughan to Mrs. Eaton, August 26, 1924, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "1924-1929 Correspondence with Mrs. Nasmith".

year.[134]

She was swayed by the arguments, and also less interested in financing a school that focused less on drama.

Nasmith tendered her resignation two weeks later accompanied with a passionate letter. She recalled that on the opening night of the School in 1907, Timothy Eaton had said to her, "Promise me that you will stay with this School until you die." She further noted that Timothy's son, John, once said, "Mother must have everything she wants for that school, and when you want anything the latch-string is always hanging from the door." She also quoted a statement from Margaret Eaton, "Father said I was to have what I wanted for that school." Nasmith felt that the proposed policies of making her responsible for the finances of the school, including its deficit and the rent of the building, were simply inconsistent with the intent of Timothy Eaton. She discussed the matter with Margaret Eaton, but unfortunately found her to be in agreement with the proposals. As a result, Scott Raff stated: "My agreement with the late Mr. Timothy has been faithfully honored during the past seventeen years by the Board of Directors. I consider the present attitude to be a breach of faith, and so I have no alternative but to tender my resignation."[135]

R.Y. Eaton responded to her letter by clarifying some matters. He noted that "the financial results in as far as ascribable to management would be looked upon as attributable to

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[134] Mrs. Eaton to J.J. Vaughan, August 28, 1924, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "1924-1929 Correspondence with Mrs. Nasmith".

[135] Mrs. Nasmith to J.J. Vaughan, September 12, 1924, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "1924-1929 Correspondence with Mrs. Nasmith".

you." Also, "Mrs. Eaton did not say she can no longer pay for deficit, but said she would no longer pay it." Finally, "as to the rent, I understand Mrs. Eaton told you she would pay it this year."[136] On September 19, Nasmith's resignation was announced. Charles M. Sparrow, who had been on the faculty of the School since 1922, was to succeed her as Principal.[137] However, on the day Nasmith resigned she was given her full salary of $3,300.00, for the year 1924-1925,[138] but this did not keep her quiet. In appreciation of Nasmith's contributions, the staff, alumnae, and senior students presented her with a Sheffield tray and a pair of candlesticks at their next Christmas play.[139] By December of 1924, Sparrow had resigned[140] and Miss Ross, MES's vice-principal, was appointed Acting Principal, since "we [Directors of Eaton Company] thought it advisable to continue for the balance of the School year."[141]

Margaret Eaton's position on the School did not help her relationship with Nasmith. Josephine Burnside reported to McGee

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[136] R.Y. Eaton to Mrs. Nasmith, September 16, 1924, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "1924-1929 Correspondence with Mrs. Nasmith".

[137] "Resigns Principalship of Margaret Eaton School," Mail and Empire (20 September 1924); "Resigns as Principal," Globe (20 September 1924): 16x; and "Resigns Position - Miss Mary G. Hamilton," Globe (21 May 1934): 8.

[138] Emma Scott Nasmith to J.J. Vaughan, November 4, 1924, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "1924-1929 Correspondence with Mrs. Nasmith"; and J.J. Vaughan to Mr. R.Y. Eaton, December 13, 1924, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development".

[139] "Social Events," Globe (20 December 1924): 16.

[140] Extract of letter from Mr. Vaughan to Lady Eaton, January 16, 1924, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development".

[141] J.J. Vaughan to Mr. R.Y. Eaton, December 13, 1924, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development".

that "Mrs. Nasmith has been saying that Mrs. Eaton is not the same to her." J.J. Vaughan's interpretation of matters is that Nasmith

> makes out that the handing over to her of the key of the School at the time it was opened represented the handling over of the building and is quite surprised that her share in the Company does not represent an interest in the property. In fact Mr. McGee says that the Directors are accused of stealing the property from her (these may not be the exact words that Mrs. Nasmith used).[142]

J.J. Vaughan went on to note that he had spoken to Lady Eaton and advised her that "a subscription of $100,000.00 might be forthcoming in the event of coming to terms with the University." The main goal was to perpetuate the School and the name. He also advised Lady Eaton that Emma Scott Nasmith was welcome to begin her own school, but without the $100,000 subscription possibly going to the University.[143] Despite all of this, at some later Eaton functions, the Nasmiths were still present.[144]

One option for the School was to seek affiliation with the University of Toronto, but this was to prove unsuccessful. To this end, Chancellor Bowles had an interview with President Falconer of the University in October of 1924. Three tentative agreements were achieved. One, since the Conservatory of Music was affiliated with the University,[145] the possibility for MES to become affiliated was possible. The Conservatory managed and

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[142] Extract from Mr. Vaughan's letter to Mr. R.Y. Eaton, November 17, 1924, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "1924-1929 Correspondence with Mrs. Nasmith".

[143] Ibid.

[144] "Brilliant Musicale Marks Eaton's Auditorium Opening," Globe (27 March 1931): 17.

[145] See Royal Conservatory of Music - The 1986 Centennial Edition Yearbook, (n.p.: 1986), 5.

financed its own affairs but did have some of its instructors as university faculty, and some of its students completing degrees at the university. Two, the university had no money for additional buildings, so such needed to be provided. Third, since MES was not financially self-supporting, a source of supplementary income needed to be provided. Professor Greaves, the Speech instructor at Victoria College, had been asked by R.Y. Eaton to prepare a report on what it would take to affiliate with the University. He recommended three departments: Vocal Expression and Public Speaking, Dramatic Art, and Physical Education. For the first two departments he recommended a building containing a 800-1000 seat theatre, six classrooms, offices, and a variety of other rooms at a cost of $200,000. For Physical Education, two gymnasiums, a swimming pool, and four class rooms were recommended at a cost of $90,000. In this connection it was noted that the trustees of the Massey Estate, had approximately $175,000 set aside for a building of "Physical Training for the Women of the University." Obviously some arrangement between the Eaton and Massey Estate should be considered. The staffing recommendation included a dean, three department heads, and seven "assistants." The prospect for physical education seemed positive since there was a need for women graduates in this field. There was less optimism for the development of the former two departments.[146]

At a later discussion by Professor Greaves, H. McGee, and J.J. Vaughan, there was less optimism about affiliation. The Directors had decided that a building costing $200,000 could not

[146] W.H. Greaves to R.Y. Eaton, October 14, 1924, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development".

be provided, nor could a yearly endowment. However, the Directors would be willing to provide a sizeable one-time donation in the interest of perpetuating the name. Another concern was that students must pass a matriculation examination before entering the University; this was not the case at MES. Finally, instructors at the University were to have a degree, and in the case of MES, Miss Ross was the only one who held a degree.[147] These conclusions were submitted to R.Y. Eaton with the added comment that should affiliation occur, the School would be "of higher standard without the same popular appeal."[148]

By mid-November of 1924, University of Toronto President Sir Robert Falconer had brought the matter of establishing a department of Public Speech at the University, with a building to be named the Margaret Eaton School of Expression, to the University Board. A committee was established at the University to look into the matter.[149] By mid-December the Directors of the Eaton Company "were unanimously in favor of providing a building or a subscription for a building, subject of course to satisfactory arrangements being made as to site, name of school, and any conditions that may be deemed necessary."[150] The costs of

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[147] Memo of Discussion with Prof. Greaves, Mr. H. McGee and J.J. Vaughan, October 30, 1924, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development".

[148] J.J. Vaughan to R.Y. Eaton, November 11, 1924, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development".

[149] R.P. Bowles to J.J. Vaughan, November 19, 1924, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development".

[150] J.J. Vaughan to Mr. R.Y. Eaton, December 13, 1924, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development".

such a building were estimated at $250,000.[151] By January of 1925 it appeared the University's Board of Governors might look with favour on this proposition.[152] On February 25, 1925 the Committee of the Senate of the University met to decide upon the suitability, from an education viewpoint, of MES affiliating with the University. Their judgement was "that there was no reason why such work should not be done in the University, and the suggestion of the Committee was that the relation in which the Toronto Conservatory of Music now stands to the University would furnish a model for the Margaret Eaton School also."[153]

This left only one hurdle; the Board of the University needed to decide on the financial side of this issue. It met on March 12, 1925, and came to the opinion "that with their [Board of Governors of the University] financial obligations and the uncertainty that would devolve upon them were they to take this School over, they must regretfully decline the offer."[154] R.P. Bowles, who had worked hard on this matter as a member of MES Board of Directors, was disappointed. He suggested, not surprisingly, that the "sole reason for the action of the Board of Governors was the financial obligations which they feared would devolve upon them." He added:

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[151] Extract from Minutes of Directors' Meeting, December 13, 1924, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development".

[152] Extract of letter from Mr. Vaughan to Lady Eaton, January 16, 1925, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development".

[153] R.P. Bowles to Mr. Vaughan, February 26, 1925, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development".

[154] Robt. A. Falconer to Dr. R.P. Bowles, March 13, 1925, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development".

> Of the work done by the Margaret Eaton School of Expression my appreciation has been increased by the conversations which have taken place with respect to the School in these negotiations, and I can only express the hope that so good a work may be assured a prosperous future in some way.[155]

By the Spring of 1925 the intention was to close the School at the end of that school year. J.J. Vaughan advised Emma Scott Nasmith that "in case you want to do similar work under another name I have been asked to let you know that it can be arranged to use the furniture now in the school building and that a contribution would be made for one year equivalent to the rent paid last year, namely Twenty-five Hundred Dollars."[156] This prompted a quick flurry of letter writing.

Nasmith responded with a lengthy four page letter which did not in the least discuss the suggestion put forward by J.J. Vaughan. Instead she increased the intensity of her argument by stating that "no one of the name of Eaton, not even Mr. Timothy Eaton's wife, has the right to close the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, the School that Timothy Eaton built." To this she added the emotional plea, "Timothy Eaton never started anything to let it die and he absolutely refused to believe in divorce. I remember as if it were yesterday, when the name of the New School was being discussed I suggested that Margaret Eaton be added to School of Expression, he said--`Mother will like that.'" Nasmith made an appeal to "keep faith with Timothy Eaton the founder of all your fortunes... with our pioneer faculty... with our Alumnae." She concluded: "I am with

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[155] R.P. Bowles to R.Y. Eaton, March 17, 1925, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development".

[156] J.J. Vaughan to Mrs. Nasmith, April 20, 1925, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "1924-1929 Correspondence with Mrs. Nasmith".

you to carry on the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression--willing to carry on where we are and as we are until such times as we can again put forward our claims to its further development in the larger university."[157]

Continuing the School till it could be merged with the University of Toronto was hardly what Vaughan had in mind in his April letter to Nasmith. He immediately advised her that the idea of amalgamation with the University had been dropped because the University wanted the Eatons to provide a building. He concluded: "Therefore, as no other kind of School makes any appeal to you, we can consider the matter closed, as far as you are concerned."[158]

Under the suggestion of Emma Scott Nasmith the Alumnae met. They advised J.J. Vaughan that they unanimously decided that they were not interested in perpetuating a school of another name.[159] To accommodate the concern of the Alumnae, J.J. Vaughan advised Nasmith that if she wished to begin another school, they could use the name of the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression for one year. In addition, the offer to contribute $2,500 towards one year's rent still stood.[160]

Nasmith began to accept R.Y. Eaton's position but argued

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[157] Emma Scott Nasmith to Mr. J.J. Vaughan, April 23, 1925, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "1924-1929 Correspondence with Mrs. Nasmith".

[158] J.J. Vaughan to Mrs. Nasmith, April 23, 1925, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "1924-1929 Correspondence with Mrs. Nasmith".

[159] Frances Pearce, Corresponding Secretary of the Margaret Eaton Alumnae Association, to Mr. Vaughan April 30, 1925, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "1924-1929 Correspondence with Mrs. Nasmith".

[160] J.J. Vaughan to Mrs. Nasmith, May 1, 1925, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "1924-1929 Correspondence with Mrs. Nasmith".

that "it is too late for me to attempt to work on any plan for a new School. This I will do. I will take the management of our School for one year providing I am relieved of financial obligation and worry." But she wanted the Directors to renew their proposal to build a school on the University grounds. She also wanted the Directors to accede to the request for a sufficient endowment to ensure its development, thus "perpetuating for all time--The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression built by Mr. Timothy Eaton."[161]

J.J. Vaughan would not budge. He restated the Eaton's position that the new school must work on its own account. Neither were the Eatons prepared to provide an endowment as well as a school building at the University. Therefore, "we shall have to take the matter between us as concluded."[162]

J.J. Vaughan and Emma Nasmith met at her house on May 3, 1925. Nasmith mentioned that at the Alumnae meeting, four days previous, there "was a very strong feeling for a school of Physical Training only." Nasmith was not at all interested in the principalship of such a school (but only a year later Physical Education would be the only course offered at MES). Vaughan felt that such a school would not likely be permitted to use the Margaret Eaton name. Second, Nasmith asked Vaughan's opinion of the Literature and Expression part of the school being affiliated with the Toronto Conservatory of Music with a new directorate. Vaughan felt this would be perceived of as a step

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[161] Emma Scott Nasmith to Mr. J.J. Vaughan, May 2, 1925, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "1924-1929 Correspondence with Mrs. Nasmith".

[162] J.J. Vaughan to Mrs. Nasmith, May 2, 1925, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "1924-1929 Correspondence with Mrs. Nasmith".

backwards by the Directors and would not likely be supported. Vaughan reemphasized to Nasmith that "any offers made were not for the purpose of continuing the Margaret Eaton School but to help her personally should she want to take up that kind of work on her own account." The discussion ended "with the understanding that she would not proceed on her own account and that the question had been disposed of."[163] The school appeared to be dead! All that Jackson would say of this was: "To the students, who for the most part, were happily unaware of executive difficulties, the life and work of the School were stimulating and satisfying experiences."[164]

The School building at 1174-1182 Bay Street had been expropriated by the city for purposes of widening the street to 86 feet,[165] and was leased by MES from September 17, 1923 through August 1, 1925.[166] The rent for the 1924-1925 school year was $2,500.[167] This lease was extended to the School in March of 1925,[168] but it was decided not to renew the lease. The School vacated the building on June 14, 1925.[169]

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[163] Memorandum from J.J. Vaughan, nd., AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "1924-1929 Correspondence with Mrs. Nasmith".

[164] Jackson, 23.

[165] "Local Improvement Notice," Globe (17 September 1920).

[166] Harry White attention Mr. Livingstone, July 8, 1925, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School - Property Leasing".

[167] The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression and City of Toronto Agreement to Rent, July 15, 1924, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School - Property Leasing".

[168] W.C. Macneill to J.A. Livingstone, March 26, 1925, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School - Property Leasing".

[169] J. A. Livingstone to Mr. Macneill, June 15, 1925, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School - Property Leasing".

19. The 1925-1926 School Year

In the early summer of 1925, after considerable re-organization, the school re-opened at the Extension Building, 415 Yonge Street, as The Margaret Eaton School. In the fall of 1925 Mr. Bertram Forsyth of Hart House Theatre, University of Toronto, assumed the duties of Principal of the School and Director of the Department of Literature and Dramatic Art.[170]

Forsyth came to Hart House, from England, in 1921.[171] His approach was similar to Scott Raff's, except that he emphasized drama. He was described as "an apostle of the drama of spoken words, in contradistinction to dramatic interpretation wherein light, color and massed movement are the prime factors, and the players are smothered beneath the trappings of mechanical stage-craft."[172] He was a visionary and "chief among the innovations planned by the new director is a clearing-house for Canadian playwrights." It was his dream to make Hart House into "THE" Canadian school of drama.[173]

The Advisory Committee was made up of an entirely new group of people and included: Bertram Forsyth, Mary Hamilton, Gordon Mills, Miss A.G. Hodgins, Jessie Alexander Roberts, Ivor R.

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[170] "Forsythe Takes Charge Margaret Eaton School," Daily Star (9 June 1925): 7.

[171] "Will Direct Hart House Theatricals," Daily Star (4 August 1921): 3.

[172] "Director Seeks Canadian Plays," Globe (9 September 1921): 12x.

[173] Ibid.; and "New Director Seeks Plays by Canadians," and "Mr. Bertram Forsyth," Daily Star (3 September 1921): 8.

Lewis, and Mr. A. Munro Grier.[174] The two principals were on the committee, but following the closing of the Literature and Dramatic Art Department, Mary Hamilton was the only employee of the School serving on the Advisory Committee.

Except for Bertram Forsyth and Mary Hamilton, little is known concerning the others. The only exception is Ivor Lewis, another Eaton's man. It is known that he

> was a prominent member of Eaton's management for many years... he spent several decades in various Eaton's offices including the Fine Art Department, City Advertising, Sales Promotion and Employment and Wages, before being appointed in 1935 as both Supervisor of Publicity and Public Relations, and as Staff Superintendent. He held the latter position until his retirement in 1950. As well, he served as a Director of the Company starting in 1942.[175]

It is not clear how often this group met or what their exact function was. Perhaps they had some role in the production of the School calendars. There is one note, addressed to Mr. Lewis, a member of this committee, critical of the proposed Calendar 1925-1926. The critique stated that "the language used is not too eloquent, to round off an education, it is not Shakespeare or Edison."[176]

At MES, two separate departments were established in the revised institution, each with an administrative head:

> The Department of Literature and Dramatic Art.
> Director - Mr. Bertram Forsyth, B.A. (Oxon.)
> Assistant Director - Mr. Dixon Wagner, B.A. (Oxon.).
> The Department of Physical Education.

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[174] Jackson, 33.

[175] Cobon, 220.

[176] Mr. Lewis, AO-EC, Series 162, Box 24, Education--Margaret Eaton School--School--Confidential (1925-1960).

Director - Miss Mary G. Hamilton."[177]

A newspaper article, entitled "School to Specialize in the Dramatic Art: Bertram Forsyth is Appointed Principal of Margaret Eaton School," lists some of the information above. However, attached to this article in the Archives files is an unsigned note which states that the title in the article should have been "School to Specialize in the Dramatic Art and Physical Education: Bertram Forsyth is Appointed Principal and Director of Literature and Dramatic Art, Mary G. Hamilton is Director of Physical Education."[178] Obviously the note writer was concerned that Physical Education was taking second place to the Dramatic Arts. Perhaps this had more to do with male domination of the newspapers since Forsyth was a male and Hamilton a female. A year or so later a newspaper article noted that Forsyth "organized a little theatre,"[179] when in fact Scott Raff had been doing that for twenty-five years. He merely kept it going for a year and then it died.

The concern over Bertram Forsyth was also shared by others as is most obvious from the following note, and two telegrams and a letter from Robert Y. Eaton:

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[177] Jackson, 21-22; a pamphlet entitled: "The Margaret Eaton School Syllabus of Courses for the Season," AO, Ontario, Series 162, Box 24, "Education - Margaret Eaton School - Press Clippings (1925-1960); "New Quarters for School: Old YMCA building on Yonge Street being Remodelled," Telegram (1925); advertisement, Globe (18 July 1925): 3; and Calendar 1925-1926, 4. For more on Wagner see "How Lieut. Dixon Wagner, Nephew of Lady Whitney, Won His Military Cross," Daily Star (16 January 1918): 13.

[178] "School to Specialize in the Dramatic Art: Bertram Forsyth is Appointed Principal of Margaret Eaton School," Mail and Empire (9 June 1925): 4; and attached note, AO-EC, Series 162, Box 24, Education - Margaret Eaton School - Press Clippings (1925-1960). Emphasis added.

[179] "Bertram Forsyth Takes Own Life," Mail and Empire (17 September 1927): 2.

> About the easiest way out would be to rent out the building at a dollar a year and let him call it by a name of his own. And let Miss H. [Miss Mary Hamilton] and him run a school according to their own ideas. If at the end of a year he has gathered together a good school he could then interest enough supporters to provide him proper facilities. The fact is there is so much prominence given to theatre in this syllabus that I begin to think that the theatre is an end of his work rather than a means to an end. If so, I'ld rather not start.[180]

In the first telegram Robert Eaton thought it advisable to let the school continue for one more year and we would pay any deficit that occurred. With that in mind, he suggested that Vaughan give "Forsyth authority to engage needed teachers..." and "Pity Mrs. N [Nasmith] not feeling right, fear she would interfere."[181] The second telegram encouraged Lewis to persuade Charlotte Ross to teach, since her work was appreciated.[182]

The combined objectives for the two distinct programs were summarized in a proposed syllabus for the 1925-1926 school year. The objectives were as follows:

> One: To contribute to general and culture training, and to round off an academic education, through the study of literature, and aesthetic dancing, the practice of the arts and crafts of the theatre, and by means of a comprehensive course in physical education.
>
> Two: To provide a technical education for those who intend to make any branch of dramatic arts or physical education their life work. The curriculum has been chosen for practical rather than traditional reasons, and accordingly each subject will be treated in such a way as to bring it into direct relations with current

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[180] Note to Mr. Lewis, AO-EC, Series 162, Box 24, Education - Margaret Eaton School - School - Confidential (1925-1960).

[181] Telegram from RYE to J.J. Vaughan, Banff, May 25, 1925, AO-EC, Series 162, Box 24, "Education--Margaret Eaton School--School--Confidential (1925-1960)."

[182] Telegram from RYE to J.J. Vaughan, dated, Winnipeg, May 27, 1925, AO-EC, Series 162, Box 24, "Education--MES--School--Confidential (1925-1960)."

art and life.[183]

In June of 1925, Robert Eaton also expressed his concerns about the proposed syllabus. The major points of his letter, addressed to Mr. Lewis, concerned word choice, the minimal attention given to literature compared to drama, clarifying the educational value of a September camping experience, and the need to identify scholarships.[184]

In the end, two separate calendars were produced; one for the Department of Literature and Dramatic Art, and another for the Department of Physical Education. Since the Department of Physical Education was to exist to the end of the school's existence, this department will be discussed later.

The Advisory committee was made up of Jessie Alexander Roberts, Mary G. Hamilton, Anne F. Hodgkins, Bertram Forsyth, A. Munro Grier, W. Gordon Mills, and Ivor R. Lewis.[185] Mary Hamilton directed MES's Physical Education Department while Bertram Forsyth directed Theatre. Jessie Alexander was a longtime friend of Margaret Eaton, and Mills and Lewis were executives in the Eaton Company.

Bertram Forsyth took pride in his new facility, especially the theatre portion of the program. He and the Advisory Committee issued an invitation requesting "the pleasure of your company at a private view of the newest theatre." This was to

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[183] "Syllabus for 1925-1925," AO-EC, Series 162, Box 24, "Education--MES--School--Confidential (1925-1960)."

[184] Robert Eaton to Mr. Burwash, June 1925, AO-EC, Series 162, Box 24, "Education - Margaret Eaton School - School - Confidential (1925-1960)."

[185] Calendar 1925-1926: Literature and Dramatic Art, 3; and Calendar 1925-1926: Physical Education, 3.

take place on Thursday, October 1, 1925.[186] In an article Forsyth wrote in a proposed syllabus for the School, he further supported the importance of a school of Dramatic Arts. He quoted from a Gordon Craig, "The greatest living authority on theatre," in support of the importance of education in drama.[187] Forsyth took on this job with intensity and directed four plays in the 1925-1926 school year.[188] Overall, for these plays, MES "achieved distinction for the interest and excellence of its productions."[189] However, using "She Stoops to Conquer" as an example, Jane Hinds ('22) was the only MES student among the cast.[190]

By the end of the first year of this new arrangement, it was deemed there was insufficient number of students to warrant the continuation of the Literature and Dramatic Art portion of the School. There were thirty-nine first-year students in Physical Education, only nine in Literature and Dramatic Art. Consequently, following the 1926 Commencement Exercises the

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[186] "Invitation - October 1, 1925," AO-EC, Series 162, Box 24, "(Education - Margaret Eaton School) Press Clippings (1925-60)."

[187] Bertram Forsyth, "Excerpts from Gordon Craig," in the Proposed Syllabus 1925-1926, AO-EC, Series 162, Box 24, "Education - Margaret Eaton School - School - Confidential (1925-1960)."

[188] Programmes in file from AO-EC, Series 162, Box 24, Education - Margaret Eaton School - School - Theatre (1919-1926); "New Little Theatre Opens," Globe (6 October 1925): 29; Lawrence Mason, "Three Playlets," Globe (18 November 1925): 12; Advertisement, Globe (30 December 1925): 2; and Lawrence Mason, "Gay Fairy Fantasy," Globe (29 December 1925): 10

[189] "Bertram Forsyth Takes Own Life." Mail and Empire (17 September 1927): 1 & 2; "Bertram Forsyth's Nocturne." Globe (2 January 1926): 30; and "Bertram Forsyth's Fantasy," Saturday Night (19 January 1926).

[190] "`She Stoops to Conquer' Done in the New Manner." Mail and Empire (2 February 1926): 11.

Department of Literature and Dramatic Art was discontinued.[191] MES had made a significant change from its origin in elocution to a school of physical education.

Jackson notes that the "death of Bertram Forsyth, in the early summer of 1926, came as a shock to his many friends."[192] In reality he died more than a year later. He had left MES in 1926 in circumstances, other than the huge financial losses, that are not altogether clear. A newspaper report of the time notes:

> The silent departure of Bertram Forsyth from our midst has filled a great many of his admirers with regret. As a matter of fact, he did not expect to go. Last year the name of Margaret Eaton School blazed forth on the artistic skyline as it has never done before as a result of the activities of New Theatre, and Mr. Forsyth's name will always be associated in the memories of those who are interested in the best things of the drama with that brief but thoroughly worthwhile enterprise.[193]

Though he had planned to "carry on local classes in acting, and to avail himself of such opportunities for making non-professional productions," he accepted an invitation to go to New York to direct a play entitled "Humble."[194] The plot of this play, based on Dostoevsky's "Crime and Punishment," concerns a Russian student who is "an intellectual and sentimental pessimist, murders an unspeakable landlord, from motives that are entirely quixotic. He has just written a pamphlet justifying homicide, and acts on his own theory."[195] One wonders how his

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[191] Jackson, 22-23.

[192] Jackson, 23.

[193] "Bertram Forsyth Stages `The Humble' in New York," Mail and Empire (23 October 1926): 17.

[194] Ibid.; and "Former Hart House Head Now in New York," Globe (16 October 1926): 27.

[195] Ibid.

leaving of MES and directing the "Humble" affected him? Forsyth remained in New York, and on September 16, 1927, he was found in his apartment with his "face toward a stove in which all the jets were open."[196] In a note to his wife and son, he wrote:

> This is my last letter I shall write to you. I don't think anyone can realize what I have suffered the last year through nerves and depression. I have suffered through depression all my life. At Winchester I once drank a bottle of red ink, however, it acted as a tonic on me.... The depression has lately entered my brain.... I wish you every happiness.... Your devoted B.F.[197]

One wonders if his depressed state had a bearing on his ill-fortunes with MES. But a reporter noted that Forsyth "was extremely well liked by those amongst whom he worked, and by those generally with who he came into contact."[198]

20. Summary

Though a Board of Directors--members of Toronto's elite and related through family or employment to Timothy Eaton--officially governed MES, the school was really run by two people. Emma Scott Raff, MES's founder, implemented her educational vision, took responsibility for teacher hiring, and manipulated the school's directors to continue their support. She received the use of a new building, specially designed for her, because Timothy Eaton thought this "afforded her [his wife] a pleasing and worthy interest." Though Scott Raff was the school's

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[196] "Bertram Forsyth's Tragic Death Shocks His Toronto Friends," Evening Telegram (17 September 1927): 20.

[197] "Bertram Forsyth Takes Own Life," Mail and Empire (17 September 1927): 1 & 2.

[198] Ibid.

principal, the school was really Margaret Eaton's. It was Margaret Eaton who provided the building, and paid the debts.

On account of urban development in Toronto, the "Greek Temple" was renovated and deemed inadequate for the work of MES, and provided Margaret Eaton with a good excuse to discontinue her financial underwriting of the school. With the building gone, the program shifting, and no wealthy benefactor, Scott Raff's career was over. Scott Raff was a visionary, but incompetent in providing financial stability for the school.

However, the school did not die at this time. Though the executives of the Eaton Company, especially Robert Eaton, wanted to divest themselves of financially underwriting MES's debts, they did provide both time and money, to assist those who were interested in reorganizing the school. And reorganize the school they did. The demand for teachers in physical education, the leadership of Mary Hamilton, Director of Physical Education at MES since 1910, contributed to the school's continuation, albeit with a significantly different format. But for Margaret Eaton and Emma Scott Nasmith, the new school, focusing on physical education, was no longer the school they had set out to build.

Chapter Five:
Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression (1906-1926)--Its Curriculum, Faculty and Students

During this period, MES further developed an extensive program and reached out to many more students. As in the previous period, the curriculum focused on the development of well-rounded women through teaching courses in elocution, drama, physical education, plus several other courses. Faculty and graduates made their presence felt in drama, and later on in physical education.

XXI. MES's Mission and Curriculum

The greater availability of school calendars and other documents permitted a more in-depth description of the school's curriculum during this period than the previous period. The calendars through 1915 varied slightly in their content. Scott Raff later described this period as a time in which the development of the school was "slow and steady."[1] A variety of speeches and quotations were used by the school to defend or state its educational mission. This data assists in a detailed reconstruction of this aspect of the school.

The mission of this school is clearly stated in Scott Raff's words. She described it as a school

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[1] Report from Emma Scott Nasmith to The Directors of The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, [Fall 1919], AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924)."

> where the voice is trained to express what the soul feels; while the body, by a reverential, assiduous care, is made obedient to the mind; where self-reverence, self-knowledge, and self-control are essentials; where gentleness and grace of thought, bearing and action, are imparted; where those who have special faults of delivery, vocal defects, imperfect enunciation, hesitancy in speech and a tendency to colloquial speech, will have special help towards elimination; where the education that consists of mere knowledge is supplemented by the culture that opens the way to wider understanding and a larger life; a school for the development of personality on native characteristics, a realization of the best that life holds for the individual, of inward grace, and spiritual poise, which means happiness for self and power for social good.[2]

Chancellor Burwash supported this and wrote that he welcomed "a study of expression based on true psychological principles." He argued that neither Christ nor Socrates wrote books, but "yet their spiritual power has lived through all ages. Thus to think and speak is the highest pinnacle as yet attained by man."[3]

These aims were often quoted,[4] added to and reworded, but the central messages remained unchanged: one, people essentially consist of mind, soul and body; two, the perceived need for people to be cultivated at their own level and at their own learning speed; three, the concern for the unique educational needs for women and children; and, four, a defense of elocution when properly taught.

The three essentials of a person, and the Platonic rationalism, were argued in the Calendar 1908-1909.[5] Two years later, in a defense of the School's curriculum, these three

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[2] "The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression," News (8 January 1907): 4.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Calendar 1908-1909, 4.

[5] Calendar 1909-1910, 8.

essentials were again presented. But there was a hierarchy with these three essentials. The body needed to be controlled first, so that it could be subject to mind and heart.

> We begin our threefold training first in the Gymnasium; for the preparation of the body as an instrument of expression we work for freedom of the body, then for natural adjustment of all its parts. Secondly--in the class-room for a knowledge of the best in Literature. An intelligent conception of the text must form the basis of all satisfactory interpretation in the studios for Vocal Expression of the best--we stimulate thought. The voice receives the most careful and intelligent training for purity of tone and is made responsive to thinking and feeling.[6]

To this was added, in 1914, that if people wished to give the best of themselves to others, "our best self can only be revealed through co-ordination of the spiritual and the physical life."[7] Various quotations in the School's Calendar supported this view. For example: "Health is the First of all liberties, and happiness gives us the energy which is the basis of health,"[8] and "All good things are ours, nor soul helps flesh more now than flesh helps soul--Browning."[9]

The School also described itself as one which "takes students as we find them, and individual need receives individual attention by class and personal lessons."[10] E.C. Fleming, an instructor at the School in 1908, suggested: "This elasticity, this care for the individual, of whatever attainments, is just

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[6] Calendar 1910-1911, 8; Calendar 1912-1913, 10; Calendar 1914-1915, 7; and Calendar 1915-1916, 9.

[7] Calendar 1914-1915, 7; and Calendar 1915-1916, 9.

[8] Calendar 1908-1909, 16.

[9] Calendar 1909-1910, 20.

[10] Calendar 1909-1910, 8.

what distinguishes the Margaret Eaton School from other institutions.... This school provides for the needs of many who could find no suitable niche elsewhere."[11]

This faith in the individual was often supported in various quotations in the Calendars. For example: "We need a revival of the individual. The question is not, what are they doing--but, what am I doing?"[12] Individualization was possible in part because of generally small class sizes. Burwash notes, in a 1915 report that the "four to six additional [students] in each year of the full courses would not overcrowd the classes. This would give classes of ten to twelve in each year, not too large for the best work."[13] A class size of six was therefore typical for full courses in 1915.

But why a school especially catering to women? Fleming argued that the School could provide them with "practical usefulness and literary pleasure." These two items were especially important for women with extra time on their hands and those who are insufficiently "cultured," as Fleming wrote:

> What to do with the girl who has just left school is often a problem. With time not completely filled by domestic and social duties, she may have unlimited energy, and a real desire for culture and the higher things of life, without any special gift that would mark out a "career" for her.... The woman for who opportunities for culture have been reserved for the mature years of life can find the help and stimulus she needs in some or other of the classes of literature or languages or history of art. The backward or defective girl can find sympathetic individual instruction that other schools can not

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[11] Calendar 1909-1910, 8-9; and Calendar 1914-1915, 8.

[12] Calendar 1913-1914, 16-17, 18; Calendar 1914-1915, 18; and Calendar 1915-1916, 21.

[13] N. Burwash to Mr. Eaton, November 30, 1915, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

arrange for in their stereotyped programs....[14]

By 1914, if women were not interested in "practical usefulness and literary pleasure,"[15] "they may be in search of health and can find curative and corrective work in the gymnasium, or work for grace, ease, poise and rhythm in the lovely Folk, Classic, and National Dances taught there."[16] This argument is consistently held. Fleming argues that "the end and aim of this training is not to fit our student for the platform or the stage but for life and the home."[17]

The School also provided part-time courses to children. Fleming applauded, and emphasized the importance of, the possibilities the School offered children, particularly in the "study of languages [French and German] in a conversational way at an early age."[18] Furthermore, it was stated in the 1914 Calendar: "The backward or defective child can here find sympathetic individual instruction, that other schools have not provided. The stammerer, or those with any speech defect, can obtain freedom through treatment."[19]

In addition, the need for a school of elocution was felt to be obvious. At the opening of the School in 1907, it was argued: "Nothing is of more value to the future preachers, teachers,

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[14] Calendar 1909-1910, 8-9; Calendar 1914-1915, 8; and Calendar 1915-1916, 10.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Calendar 1914-1915, 8; and Calendar 1915-1916, 10.

[17] Calendar 1910-1911, 8, and repeated in Calendar 1912-1913, 10.

[18] Calendar 1909-1910, 8-9.

[19] Calendar 1914-1915, 8; and Calendar 1915-1916, 10.

lawyers, and statesmen, who are being trained in our various colleges, than the ability to express their views in good literary form, whether speaking or writing."[20] The importance of speech training is the essential argument here. Another speaker at the opening ceremonies did warn that this training ought not to be "that sentimental gush which is the bane of the ordinary elocutionist."[21]

Fleming, in describing the School's "Professional Course," reinforced the notion that the School did not teach "gushy elocutionism." She noted:

> The school cannot be lightly entered upon nor continued, and is of a severe enough character to eliminate the unfit; and that the whole effort of the school is towards intelligent, rational, literary interpretation, a vigorous protest against that crass type of elocution form which, in good time, we shall be delivered.[22]

Unfortunately, she did not make clear how she could maintain the elimination of the "unfit" with "taking students as we find them."

People's suspicion about the School being another school of elocution was one the administration wished to appease. The Calendar 1910-1911 argued against "modern recitation" which was "an over-elaboration of a true art." Instead, the school wanted to show that "true Elocution is but true conversation," and sought to prove that "there is no poem so great that a fine

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[20] Professor D.R. Keyes, "The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression," University of Toronto Monthly VIII, No. 5 (March 1907): 124-126.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Calendar 1909-1910, 8-9.

speaker cannot make it greater."[23]

By 1916 a more structured statement of the school's purpose was provided. This statement encompassed all four themes just discussed, and much of the content of the 1916 Calendar was repeated until 1923.[24]

Certainly the perspective is maintained that people essentially consist of mind, soul and body. In a condescending manner, the concern for the unique educational needs for women was preserved. Courses were still offered in the evenings and during the day for part-time students, and flexibility was the key word. Marsh offered gymnasium class for children on "Saturday morning, and at any other time that will suit the convenience of students."[25] These classes for children were occasionally listed in the school advertisements.[26] However, no special mention was made of children in the stated purpose of the School. The term "elocution" appears to have died away as no specific mention is made of it, instead the terms "public speaking" and "drama" were used.

The Calendars up to 1919 repeated the 1916 purpose.[27] The 1920 to 1922 calendars copied the same purpose but added: "Special attention is drawn to the success attained in removing such impediments as STAMMERING and STUTTERING. References to

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[23] Calendar 1910-1911, 8.

[24] Calendar 1916-1917, 7-9.

[25] Calendar 1916-1917, 21.

[26] Advertisements, Globe (6 February 1915): 10; (13 February 1915): 4; and (20 and 27 February 1915): 5.

[27] Calendar 1917-1918, 7-10; Calendar 1918-1919, 9-11; and Calendar 1919-1920, 7-9.

distinguished physicians will be given if required."[28]

The purpose, written in the 1923 and 1924 calendars, is more reminiscent of the pre-1916 period. Nasmith was not pleased by the development of the school during the war years. She felt that during those years the idea of a threefold nature was lost sight of. Instead "`[p]repare us in the shortest possible time to earn our bread', was the persistent cry.... [A]lmost all who came to us, like the Romans of old, wanted only physical development, and for a time the world seemed to go mad about dancing."[29]

The 1923 Calendar emphasized points similar to the pre-1916 Calendars, particularly in the third paragraph.

> THE PURPOSE of the School is to establish the highest standard in the training of teachers in Literature, Dramatic Art and Physical Education, and to furnish special courses for personal culture.
>
> Just what this school stands for..., only those who are associated with it as teachers and pupils can know. Development of character may be truly said to be the aim of the School.
>
> Because this is a School of Language, of Literature and of Physical Education, we make its distinctive training Expression. We also believe that any education to be of value must be threefold in nature.[30]

The calendar then repeats the threefold training, individualized work, and development for "life and the home" as discussed in the calendars from 1910-1916.[31] It is at this time in the School's history, as explained in the preceding chapter on governance,

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[28] Calendar 1920-1921, 8-10; Calendar 1921-1922, 8-10; and Calendar 1922-1923, 8-10.

[29] Report from Emma Scott Nasmith to The Directors of The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, [Fall 1919], AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924)."

[30] Calendar 1923-1924, 9-10; and Calendar 1924-1925, 8-9.

[31] Ibid.

that some nasty bit of politicking is going on as the Board and Margaret Eaton were considering closing the School. One wonders if the second paragraph is not written to the Board and Margaret Eaton, as if to say, they do not really know what is going on or they would not be considering the closing of the school. In 1925, two calendars were produced, one each for Drama and Physical Education. These Calendars stated specific departmental goals but no overall aims.

A. Programs:

There were clearly developed programs for full-time students during this period. In addition, there were a variety of part-time courses to accommodate working women in a manner other Canadian post-secondary educational institutions did not begin to do until most recently. Another unique feature of MES's curriculum was its study of many more modern writers than were studied at most universities. One of Scott Raff's obituaries said:

> She was the first publicly to read the new plays being published in Ireland by Yeats, Synge, Gregory and others, but she went to Ireland to meet the authors and see the plays done at the Abbey Theatre in Dublin. The first Irish plays produced in Canada were produced in the Margaret Eaton Theatre from the year 1908 onward.
>
> She also introduced St. John Irvine, Masefield and many other new playwrights and poets to Toronto audiences. Many famous actors, lecturers and writers were guest speakers at the Margaret Eaton School. Among these were Yeats, E.H., Sir Johnstone Forbes Robertson, Mr. Willard, Earl Grey, Governor-General of Canada, who initiated the Earl Grey Dramatic Competitions; Sir Frank Benson, Ben Greet, Edith Wynne Matheson, Rann Kennedy, Lillian Braithwaite, and many

others.[32]

1. Full-time courses:

The courses of instruction from 1908 to 1910 were outlined as follows:

> The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression offers a professional and a practical education to women, and a finishing course for girls, outlined in the three following courses:
>
> THE PROFESSIONAL COURSE demands Matriculation [high school graduation] at entrance and covers our whole outline of study including twenty-five class lectures per week, and private tuition in voice culture.
>
> THE GENERAL COURSE--Arranged for those interested in elocution and platform work as an art, embraces the University English topics or Matriculation, (an option) Voice Culture, Physical Culture, Deportment and Recitation, with Criticism.
>
> THE SPECIALISTS' COURSE--Arranged for students who want the University English Topics with Voice Culture and Physical Culture for three periods per week during the Collegiate year.[33]

In 1910, a two-year "Artists' Course" was added which was essentially the Professional Course with more practical work and less work in pedagogy and theory.[34] Two more courses were added in 1912. One of these was "the Educational Course which covers the same outline as the Professional Course, but does not demand matriculation." The other course was "a Course in English Literature, Rhetoric and Composition, History, French and German Conversation, Composition, and Literature with Physical Culture,

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[32] "Art and Literary Leader Mrs. George Nasmith Dies," The Evening Telegram (17 February 1940): 3.

[33] Calendar 1908-1909; and Calendar 1909-1910, 10.

[34] Calendar 1910-1911, 8.

Voice Culture and Criticism."[35] In 1915 yet one more course was offered, this time in "Pedagogy and Philosophy of Expression for fourth year students."[36]

From 1917 through 1919, full-time students would "receive a certificate on completing two years of study; but those desiring the professional diploma must take an additional year. This diploma qualified the holder to teach English, Expression, and Physical Education." It should be noted that these designations were MES's and although they were accepted in girls' private schools and the Y.W.C.A.s, the Ontario Ministry of Education did not recognize them. The Calendars noted that the content of these courses included "advanced study of the great periods of English Literature, with criticism of exercises in English Rhetoric and Prose Composition; training in Practical Expression, in its aesthetic as well as its technical aspect, and a normal course in Physical Education." Furthermore, "those whose preparation is sufficient may add a three years' course in the French Language and Literature."[37] In 1920 two-year courses were offered, after which a successful student would "receive a diploma qualifying the holder to teach English and Expression, and to give Elementary Physical Training."[38] However, those who graduated from the two-year course could "obtain a specialist's diploma in both Expression and Physical Education by an

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[35] Calendar 1912-1913, 10-11; Calendar 1913-1914, 9-10; and Calendar 1914-1915, 9-10.

[36] Calendar 1915-1916, 11-12.

[37] Calendar 1916-1917, 11; Calendar 1917-1918, 11; Calendar 1918-1919, 13; and Calendar 1919-1920, 12.

[38] Calendar 1920-1921, 13; Calendar 1921-1922, 13; and Calendar 1922-1923, 13.

additional year of study."[39] The nature of the additional work was not spelled out. In 1923 and 1924, students were awarded a Teacher's Diploma in Literature and Dramatic Art or in Physical Education,[40] with Hamilton directing the Physical Education and Charles Sparrow the Dramatic Art.[41] Those enroled in Physical Education in 1925 continued to graduate with a Teacher's Diploma,[42] while those completing a program in Literature and Drama received "a graded certificate, based upon the year's work."[43]

2. Part-time Programming

Part-time programming was extensive at MES. Historically, MES began by teaching part-time courses. With some flexibility, it was also through this program that it reached many more students, which helped both students and MES's balance sheets.

When MES opened in 1906, evening classes in English, French and German were announced, as well as "Literary Interpretation and Criticism, Voice Culture and Physical Culture."[44] In 1907, it was advertised: "Classes for ladies three days of the week--Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, beginning at 11 o'clock in Literature, Interpretation, Shakespeare and Studio Recital,

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[39] Calendar 1920-1921; Calendar 1921-1922; and Calendar 1922-1923, 17; and Advertisement, Globe (23 September 1922): x23.

[40] Calendar 1923-1924; and Calendar 1924-1925, 11.

[41] Advertisement, Globe (9 August 1924): 9.

[42] Calendar 1925-1926: Physical Education, 6.

[43] Calendar 1925-1926: Literature and Dramatic Art, 6.

[44] Advertisement, Globe (24 November 1906): 14.

followed by Physical Culture, each day at 12 noon."[45]

The 1908 Calendar listed two evening classes for part-time students. The first class was "arranged for those busy during the day, [and] includes voice culture, physical culture, fencing and the critical analysis of classic literature through the dialogue." The second class "also include modern language." Then it was added, "[a]ll work is elective,"[46] "classes in all of these subjects meet every Tuesday evening,"[47] and "students may register at any time for class work or personal instruction."[48]

By 1909 a more general list was provided and men were also invited to attend.[49] In 1910 "Oratory and Public Speaking" were added to the list of classes.[50]

In 1912 nine classes were listed for Tuesday evenings at five dollars per ten week term, with the exception of Mary Hamilton's two dollar course in physical training.[51] The 1913 Calendar listed the same Tuesday evening[52] except that German and Harmonic Gymnastics were deleted, and Dramatic thinking was

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[45] Advertisements, Globe, 1907: (12 October): 5; (19 October): 11; (26 October): 4; and (9 November 1907): 5.

[46] Calendar 1908-1909, 18.

[47] Advertisement, Globe, 1908: (1 February): 12; (8 February): 12; (15 February): 5; (22 February): 14; and (29 February): 5.

[48] Advertisement, Globe, (21 November 1908): 5; and "To-day's Events," Globe, (3 December 1908): 14.

[49] Calendar 1909-1910, 16; and Advertisement, Saturday Night (20 November 1909): 15.

[50] Calendar 1912-1913, 28; and Calendar 1913-1914, 16.

[51] Calendar 1912-1913, 33.

[52] Advertisement, Globe (18 October 1913): 10.

taught by Dora Mavor.[53] The English Literature course was deleted in 1914,[54] and a class added in Reading, and also a "Business Women's Club will begin the year with the study of Hamlet, under the direction of Mrs. Scott Raff." This club appears to have lasted only one year.[55]

From 1909, following the "Courses of Instruction" in the Calendar, applicants were informed that "students may register for one or more courses of lectures, and may choose these from any department of our work."[56] Added to this, in 1910, "We aim to give to every student just the kind of work and help needed by that student."[57] This flexible approach was maintained through 1926.[58]

Another evening opportunity listed in the 1909 and 1910 Calendars, was: "The Associate Players of the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression will meet every Friday evening of the school year. As many of the plays studied in the Reading Club as can be correctly staged in our own Theatre will be presented."[59] An opportunity listed only in the 1909 Calendar consisted of the following: "The Dramatic Thinking Class, under the direction of Topley Thomas, meets every Saturday morning....

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[53] Calendar 1913-1914, 20.

[54] Calendar 1914-1915, 20.

[55] Calendar 1914-1915, 16; Calendar 1915-1916, 18; Calendar 1916-1917, 22; Calendar 1917-1918, 22; and Calendar 1918-1919, 20.

[56] Calendar 1909-1910, 10.

[57] Calendar 1910-1911; to Calendar 1915-1916, 8-13.

[58] Calendar 1916-1917; to Calendar 1924-1925, 24-27; and Calendar 1925-1926: Physical Education, 11.

[59] Calendar 1909-1910, 19; and Calendar 1910-1911, 15.

This class, which includes Voice Culture and Harmonic Gymnastics in its training process, will study Twelfth Night and other plays during 1909-1910."[60]

By 1915, special note was made of a "Tuesday Evening Literary Class" offered by Scott Raff.

> In 1910 the above class started with ten members for the study of Browning.... The membership has increased to two hundred and eleven members.... During 1915-1916 it is proposed that we study the new movement outlined in the modern dramas of Yeats, Synge, Lady Gregory, Maeterlinck and Galsworthy; and works of Robert Browning.[61]

Subsequent Calendars similarly described this course and added the proposed agendas. In 1916, the class planned to study selected works of Browning and Shakespeare.[62] In 1917, "[t]he class will begin with the study of Byron's Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, which will include travel talks by Emma Nasmith of special interest to students, now that the Eastern theatre of war covers the same ground."[63] In 1918, the class studied "Literatures of the World, compiled by Edmund Gosse, one play from Shakespeare and discussed current topics."[64] The class was last offered in 1919.[65]

In 1915, special note was also given to "Friday Evening Classes in Physical Education." The purposes of these classes was to provide "pleasurable and beneficial recreation for

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[60] Calendar 1909-1910, 19.

[61] Calendar 1915-1916, 19.

[62] Calendar 1916-1917, 22.

[63] Calendar 1917-1918, 22.

[64] Calendar 1918-1919, 20.

[65] Calendar 1919-1920, 26.

business women and others engaged during the day, in the form of exercises, including deep breathing for health, folk and aesthetic dancing for rhythm, grace, ease and poise."[66] In 1916 the same description appears but without specifying Friday evening; it was moved to Wednesday evenings, where it stayed through 1925.[67]

In the fall of 1916, MES advertised a Thursday evening Dramatic Training course,[68] and a course of lectures on "Some Modern Pragmatists."[69] Also added in 1916 were "Special Classes in Chalif Interpretative Dancing..., under the direction of Hamilton."[70] This was modified in 1918 to read, "Special Classes in Aesthetic, National and Interpretive Dancing...."[71] This course continued to be offered through 1924. It was variously called Chalif Dancing or Aesthetic Dancing and cost six to eight dollars per term.[72]

In the spring of 1918, with the use of the old Y.M.C.A. building on Yonge Street, MES advertised that "swimming classes [are] now being formed for Spring term."[73] The 1919 calendar included Wednesday evening classes in social dancing, and for the

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[66] Calendar 1915-1916, 19.

[67] Calendar 1917-1918; to Calendar 1924-1925, 22-32; and Calendar 1925-1926: Physical Education, 11.

[68] Advertisement, Globe, (5 October 1916): 8.

[69] Advertisement, Globe, (9 October 1916): 4.

[70] Calendar 1916-1917; and Calendar 1917-1918, 22.

[71] Calendar 1918-1919, 20.

[72] Calendar 1919-1920; to Calendar 1924-1925, 26-32.

[73] Advertisement, Globe, 1918: (27 April, 4, 11, and 18 May): 10.

first time, swimming. The social dancing class, costing three dollars per term in 1919 and six dollars per twelve week term thereafter, remained on the books through 1925, with only minor changes in times and cost. George Corson taught swimming till Alison Mews took over in 1925.[74]

Classes were also held in Dramatic Art and Expression from 1916 to 1925. These Thursday night classes cost three dollars per term of ten weeks and were raised in 1920 to six dollars per term of twelve weeks. Helen L. McFetridge was listed as the instructor till 1922 when Charles Sparrow took over. Sparrow renamed the classes "Elocution," and "Dramatic Art for Men and Women."[75] From 1919 to 1921 an additional Monday evening course on Dramatic Art was also offered.[76] In 1921 a public speaking course was offered. In 1922 this course was listed as "Public Speaking for Professional and Business Men;" Sparrow was the instructor.[77]

Madame Goudis offered a Tuesday evening French class. This class ran from 1919 through 1924, and cost five to six dollars per course.[78]

Following the 1912 Calendar's list of regular course

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[74] Calendar 1919-1920; to Calendar 1924-1925, 26-32; and Calendar 1925-1926: Physical Education, 11; and Advertisement, Globe, (5 October 1920): 10.

[75] Calendar 1917-1918; to Calendar 1924-1925, 22-32; and Calendar 1925-1926: Physical Education, 11.

[76] Calendar 1919-1920, 26; Calendar 1920-1921, 28; and Calendar 1921-1922, 28.

[77] Calendar 1922-1923, 32; Calendar 1923-1924, 29; and Calendar 1924-1925, 28; and Advertisement, Globe (9 September 1922): 10; and (30 September 1922): 20x; and Advertisement, Saturday Night (16 September 1922): 6.

[78] Calendar 1917-1918; to Calendar 1924-1925, 22-32.

offerings, was listed "[a] special course" arranged for students who wanted to take a combination of courses on a part time basis.[79] The combinations were expanded in 1913,[80] and maintained with slight changes in 1914.[81] Beginning in 1916, students could earn a certificate through a "Partial Course," or "Non-Professional Course," as it was referred to following 1923, was also offered.[82] In 1924 the course provided greater specialization and was "open to anyone interested. No previous special Academic standing is required."[83]

MES also offered courses for the Deaconess Class and the Eatonia Club. Burwash endorsed these in 1915: They earned $630 for MES that year, "helped" women who did missionary work and working women, and added to MES' influence.[84]

The Deaconess Classes deserve fuller explanation. These were classes, particularly in speech, offered by MES for students at the Canadian Methodist Deaconess School. Thomas, a researcher who studied this school, reported:

> The Canadian Methodist Deaconess Movement occupied an important position in the intricate web of early twentieth-century women's benevolent and reform organizations. Between 1894, the year of its foundation, and 1926, when it merged with its Presbyterian counterpart in the United Church of Canada, the Methodist Deaconess Society trained more than 900 women for volunteer work or employment in the

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[79] Calendar 1912-1913, 11

[80] Calendar 1913-1914, 10-11.

[81] Calendar 1914-1915, 10-11; and Calendar 1915-1916, 12-13.

[82] Calendar 1916-1917; to Calendar 1923-1924, 11-17.

[83] Calendar 1924-1925, 10-11; and Advertisement, Saturday Night (22 December 1923): 6.

[84] N. Burwash to Mr. Eaton, November 30, 1915, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

> fields of religion and social service. The 235 women who became Methodist deaconesses and deaconess probationers served in churches and welfare institutions across Canada and Newfoundland as caseworkers, teachers, and nurses. The deaconess order, or diaconate, performed no liturgical or meditative functions; deaconesses were the foot soldiers of Methodist applied Christianity.[85]

Thomas further argues that their Training School was not on a firm footing till 1896 when members of the faculty of Victoria College volunteered to teach the students and when, in 1898, Hart Massey provided funds for a building to house the school.[86]

Scott Raff was listed as a member of the "Board of Instruction," as early as 1901.[87] In 1904 she was listed as the instructor for Voice Culture and Physical Culture.[88] The "Art of Expression" was taught by Scott Nasmith. The school's bulletin noted that MES "has been arranged to provide a course of study in voice culture, public speaking and platform deportment. These studies supplement one another and aim at the development of the whole being of the student--physical, mental and moral. Sixty hours."[89] All the MES fees were paid until 1926[90] through annual

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[85] John D. Thomas, "Servants of the Church: Canadian Methodist Deaconess Work, 1890-1926," Canadian Historical Review LXV, No. 3 (1984): 371.

[86] Ibid., 378.

[87] "Annual Report of the Toronto Deaconess Home and Training School of the Methodist Church, Canada," (1901), 19; (1902), 20; and (1903), 21.

[88] "Annual Report of the Toronto Deaconess Home and Training School of the Methodist Church, Canada," (1904), 31; (1905), 29; and (1906), 31; and "Annual Report of the Deaconess Society of the Methodist Church," (1906-07), xvi; (1907-08), xvi; and (1908-09), xvi.

[89] "Methodist Church National Training School for Christian Workers, No. 28, Bulletin 1922-1923," 25.

[90] Memorandum from John J. Livingstone to Musgrave, September 26, 1922; and December 19, 1923, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence

$200 Burnside Scholarships.

In addition to courses, MES also sponsored various public lectures and non-student recitals. From 1907 to 1909, a series of ten to twenty evening recitals were given each academic year.[91] These lectures and interpretative recitals dealt with such topics as: "Hamlet,"[92] "The Aims and Ideals for Physical, Mental and Spiritual Development," "Self-reverence and Morality,"[93] "The Magic of the Spoken Word,"[94] "The Modern Drama,"[95] Hauptman's "The Sunken Bell,"[96] "the Gospel of Laughter,"[97] "Browning,"[98] "Irish Dramas,"[99] "From Shakespeare to Ibsen,"[100] as well as readings on

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Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924)."

[91] Advertisements, Globe, (2 February 1907): 9; (26 December 1908): 11; (2 January 1909): 8; (9 January 1909): 6; (6 February 1909): 4; and (6 March 1909): 7; and Advertisements, Saturday Night (16 November 1907): 15; and (14 November 1908): 14.

[92] Advertisements, Globe (9 February 1907): 12; (16 February 1907): 11; "To-day's Events," Globe (16 February 1907): 28; and Advertisement, News (2 February 1907): 18.

[93] Advertisement, Globe, (23 February 1907): 23.

[94] Advertisement, Globe, (12 April 1907): 14.

[95] Advertisements, Globe, (13 April 1907): 32; and (20 April 1907): 18.

[96] Advertisements, Globe, 1907: (20 April): 18; (27 April): 9; (4 May): 3; (11 May): 11; (18 May): 9; and "To-day's Events," Globe, (18 May 1907): 32.

[97] Advertisement, Globe, (23 November 1907): 8.

[98] E.R. Parkhurst, "Music and Drama," Globe (26 February 1909): 12.

[99] E.R. Parkhurst, "Music and Drama," Globe (26 March 1909): 12.

[100] Advertisements, Globe (13, 20, 27 January, 3 February 1912): 11; and Advertisement, Saturday Night (27 January 1912): 6.

lesser known writers,[101] and a "plea for drama and dancing in Y.W.C.A. training."[102] MES faculty made several presentations,[103] as well as others[104] such as: Professor Moulton, Professor of Literary Interpretation, Chicago University,[105] Katharine Dale of the Mail and Empire,[106] Professor P. J. Duggan of Melbourne University, Australia,[107] J.A. Macdonald, editor of the Globe,[108] Dr. Richard Burton from the University of Minnesota,[109] President Falconer, from the University of Toronto, Professor Wallace from Victoria College, and the Toronto Women's Club.[110] Scott Raff

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[101] "Music and Drama," Saturday Night (16 December 1911): 7; "Mrs. Raff's Recital," Globe (11 December 1911): 9; and UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 1a, "Margaret Eaton School (D.D.M. as Student) - Recital Programme - Mrs. Scott Raff."

[102] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," 30 November 1912.

[103] Advertisements, Globe, 1907: (20 April): 18; (27 April): 9; (4 May): 3; (11 May): 11; (18 May): 9; (2 & 9 May 1908): 14; (16 March 1912): 11; and (23 March 1912): 3; "To-day's Events," Globe, (18 May 1907): 32; and E.R. Parkhurst, "Music and Drama," Globe (19 February 1909): 14.

[104] Advertisements, Globe (9 February 1907): 12; (16 February 1907): 11; (30 November 1907): 14; (4 January 1908): 18; and (11 January 1908): 8; Advertisement, News (2 February 1907): 18; and "To-day's Events," Globe (16 February 1907): 28; (5 December 1907): 14; (23 January & 6 February 1908): 12.

[105] Advertisement, Globe, (12 April 1907): 14.

[106] Advertisements, Globe, (13 April 1907): 32; and (20 April 1907): 18.

[107] Advertisement, Globe, (9 November 1907): 5; and "To-day's Events," Globe, (21 November 1907): 12.

[108] Advertisement, Globe (20 February 1909): 8.

[109] "Social Events," Globe (1 February 1909): 6.

[110] Advertisement, Saturday Night (14 November 1908): 14. Also advertisements for several events: Globe, (26 December 1908): 11; (2 January 1909): 8; (9 January 1909): 6; (6 February 1909): 4; and (6 March 1909): 7.

gave many recitals, at times by herself, or accompanied by students or others.[111] She gave her 20th annual recital in 1925.[112] Typically, these events were well attended and received positive reviews.[113]

3. Program goals

Jackson describes the goals of the school as two-fold, "to establish the highest standards in the training of teachers in Literature, Dramatic Art and Physical Education, and to furnish special courses for personal culture." The new motto adopted for the School was: "`We Strive for the Good and Beautiful.' Olive green and white became the School colours, and the wreath-encircled torch was replaced by the lamp of learning as the School crest."[114] One student recalled the students beginning

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[111] Advertisements, Globe, 1908: (18 January): 18; (28 March): 25; (4 April): 4 (11 April): 9; and (30 March and 6 April 1912): 11; and 1914: (28 February, 7, 14, and 21 March): 11; (28 March): 31; (4 April): 18; and Saturday Night (28 February 1914): 6; "To-day's Events," Globe, (15 April 1908): 12; "Social Events," Globe (4 March 1910): 8; "Mrs. Scott Raff's Recital," Globe (5 December 1910): 9; "Music and Drama," Saturday Night (16 December 1911): 7; "Mrs. Raff's Recital," Globe (11 December 1911): 9; UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 1a, "Margaret Eaton School (D.D.M. as Student)--Recital Programme--Mrs. Scott Raff;" "Music and Drama," Saturday Night (30 March 1912): 10; UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," 30 November 1912; and "Mrs. Scott Raff Annual Recital--December the Seventh, Nineteen Hundred and Twelve," UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 1a, "Margaret Eaton School (D.D.M. as Student)--Recital Programme---Mrs. Scott Raff."

[112] "Social Events," Globe (20 March 1925): 8.

[113] Advertisement, Globe, (5 December 1907): 11; "Social Events," Globe, (16 April 1908): 6; and (1 February 1909): 6; E.R. Parkhurst, "Music and Drama," Globe (19 February 1909): 14; (26 February 1909): 12; (26 March 1909): 12; and (4 March 1910): 14; "Theatres," Saturday Night (14 December 1912): 12; and E.R. Parkhurst, "`Parsifal' Reading," Globe (9 April 1914): 8.

[114] Jackson, 9.

each day by reciting the motto.[115]

Indications of the focus of the curriculum from 1906 to 1911 can be gleaned from Emma Scott Raff's report to the Board of Directors in the Fall of 1911. Though her report contains several enrolment statistics and profit/loss statements, she begins her report by stating that statistics "do not give us any idea of relative values and as this is a school primarily for development, its progress and the value of its training can only be determined by time."[116]

What kind of development did she intend? Apparently in 1907-1908, "we were again besieged by stage-struck students and it was a discouraging experience to find students turning away from our doors when we outlined our courses of study, instruction which had to do first with the education of the individual before that individual would be in a position to give anything to the world from stage or platform."[117] Providing a cultural knowledge base was obviously important to the Principal. As an example of the kinds of courses she thought were important she notes that in 1908-1909, students were registered in "English Literature, German, French, Physical Culture, Voice Culture and Household Science." One wonders if she was still thinking about the letter from 47 women written in 1906.

For the following year Emma Scott Raff stated that "1909-1910 ushered in a new class of students, girls from the colleges

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[115] Irma Moyer Manning, "Margaret Eaton School," in "Welcome to our Reunion - The 45th Year of the Class of '39," in a file of the author, received from Winnifred McLennan. Was also published by the Recollection Group of Ryerson Polytechnical Institute in Toronto.

[116] Report from Emma Scott Raff, 1.

[117] Report from Emma Scott Raff, 1-2.

of our own city who wanted specialists' training, some with matriculation to take a teacher's course, and some needing individual training that could not be obtained in other colleges."[118] Every year seemed unique, and one gets the distinct impression that students only stayed at the School for one year and that adaptation of the program was made to fit the wishes of the students. When Scott Raff wrote about "training that could not be obtained in other colleges," she is positioning, perhaps inadvertently, perhaps with intent, MES as another college.

Also, Jackson noted that "Dramatic ability in the revival of Greek plays demanded the balance of mental development and physical perfection which is the heart of the Greek philosophy. Ways and means were sought to vary the avenues of expression through dancing and gymnastics...." She goes on by showing Scott Raff's interest in physical education by quoting from a paper Scott Raff wrote and presented at the Victoria College Women's Educational Association in 1913. She stated in part: "The teacher of to-day wants not so much the student who can stand on her head and perform with her feet, but the student who can stand on her feet and perform with her head." Also, "Scott Raff emphasized that in a system of education for expression, we should begin with the education of the body rather than the mind, for life is first physical and then mental."[119]

As the years passed, the work of the school progressed along two distinct lines: The Department of Dramatic Art, and the Department of Physical Education. The School Calendar 1915-1916

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[118] Report from Emma Scott Raff, 2.

[119] Jackson, 10; and the Calendar 1912-1913.

gives the following information:

DRAMATIC ART

> Experience proves that nothing in all our work so quickly develops ease, naturalness, spontaneity, imagination, clear enunciation and interpretive power, and so effectually banishes timidity, affectation, and self-consciousness, as the training of Dramatic Art, therefore, while this department may be used as a preparation for the stage, that is not its primary purpose. The value of such education can scarcely be over-estimated in its fundamental service to character.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

> A recognition of physical education as an essential in the curriculum of every school and college, has created a demand for thoroughly qualified teachers. Through the rapidly increasing interest in the establishment of playgrounds and recreation centres throughout the country, the demand for trained instructors and workers exceeds the supply. The aim of this department is to provide young women with a thorough training which will enable them to take advantage of these opportunities for service as teachers and supervisors of physical education in all its phases.[120]

[120] Jackson, 12.

B. Specific Program Aims:

The overall aims of the School were more precisely developed for each department of the School. Using the departmental breakdown listed in the 1916 Calendar, these Departments were: Expression, including Dramatic Art, Voice Culture, Public Speakers' Class and Corrective Work; Physical Education; English; French, as well as German from 1908 to 1915; and a few miscellaneous courses. Each discipline will be highlighted according to: purpose, program, and textbooks used.

1. Expression:

The specific goals of Drama were spelled out in the 1908 and 1909 Calendar. It noted the importance of a three-fold education, the importance of independent thinking, and the importance of "deep breathing--the source of all power in voice."[121]

In the subsequent two years, the benefits of the Drama program were further expounded upon. It was argued, that while this training

> attempts to utilize the dramatic instinct innate in every human being.... Experience proves that nothing in all our work so quickly develops ease, naturalness, sympathy, spontaneity, imagination, clear enunciation, and interpretative power--and banishes timidity, affection, affection and self-consciousness as the study of the Drama.[122]

In 1913 to 1914, nothing was written about the aims of this

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[121] Calendar 1908-1909, 17; and Calendar 1909-1910, 19.

[122] Calendar 1910-1911, 15; and Calendar 1912-1913, 29.

department. In 1915, the aims appear focused more exclusively on character development,[123] an aim that was subsequently maintained till 1925.[124]

The aims of the 1925 Drama Department, under the new direction of Bertram Forsyth, were more pragmatic and vocational in orientation. The aims were to "Enable students to obtain a cultural training as a valuable part of their general education, and to prepare those who so desire for active work in dramatic art, in the school and in public life."[125]

The program and courses in Expression included Voice Culture, Public Speaking, Studio Recital, Make-up, and Corrective Work. Voice Culture was advertised in the Calendars from 1908 to 1924, as follows:

> The voice, the greatest instrument of expression, is generally the most neglected. Correct breathing is fundamental, whether for speech or song. Our method places all activity at the diaphragm and leaves the throat passive and relaxed. No one who has mastered this method will have speaker's sore throat. After the technical drill, voice placing, vocal process in exercise, the voice becomes responsive to feeling, and timbre (or tone color), is the result.[126]

In the reorganized school of 1925 this course was continued but under a more pragmatic label, Voice Training.[127]

The "Public Speakers' Class" as it became to be known in 1909, was first referred to as a course for "Theological Students

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[123] Calendar 1915-1916, 20.

[124] Calendar 1916-1917; to Calendar 1924-1925: 19-23.

[125] Calendar 1925-1926 - Department of Literature and Dramatic Art, 5.

[126] Calendar 1908-1909; to Calendar 1924-1925, 15-22.

[127] Calendar 1925-1926 - Department of Literature and Dramatic Art, 9.

or Public Speakers." This course had ten enroled in it in the fall of 1907.[128] In 1908 this course was described as follows:

> The work in this class is devoted principally to the training of the voice.
> 1. Melody in public speaking. Cause and cure of ministerial sore throat.
> 2. Bible and Hymn Reading.
> 3. Platform and pulpit deportment.[129]

Though the name changed to "Public Speaker's Class" the description of this class remained essentially similar.[130] There were only two minor changes. In 1912, point 2, was simply written as "Reading."[131] In 1917, point 3, the word "pulpit" was replaced with "Drawing Room."[132] In both cases the changes are away from the male dominated activity of preaching. The School moved to becoming an exclusively women's School. One student, sixty-six years later, recollected one of the worst memories of her MES days, involved this course. At times "one had to walk on to the stage, take out of a bowl on a table a slip of paper on which was written a subject upon which one had then to talk."[133]

Studio Recital, directed by Scott Raff, was listed in the 1908 Calendar as follows: "FRIDAY STUDIO RECITAL, 11 to 12, will be a special and delightful feature of our work during 1908-09, when the most worthy selections from the week's work will be

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[128] "The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, Statement of Receipts and Disbursements," June 1, 1908, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Financial Statements (1906-1913)."

[129] Calendar 1908-1909, 18.

[130] Calendar 1909-1910, 16; and Calendar 1910-1911, 14.

[131] Calendar 1912-1913, 27; Calendar 1913-1914, 15; Calendar 1914-1915, 15; Calendar 1915-1916, 17; and Calendar 1916-1917, 20.

[132] Calendar 1917-1918; to Calendar 1924-1925: 20-24.

[133] Correspondence from John Hall for Kitty Pepler Hall, to the author, October 15, 1991.

given to program."[134] There is no mention of this activity again until 1922.[135]

From 1908 through 1912 this department also offered a course in "Make-up." It was justified as follows: "The preparation of face and head to represent the individual of the dramatis personae are very powerful factors, so we include this art in this department of our work."[136]

Corrective Work, for "stammering, stuttering and impediments of speech by scientific methods," was introduced in 1909, and advertised as being highly successful.[137] This service was publicized through to 1924.[138]

The most often used text books were by Samuel Silas Curry, Ph.D., Litt.D., President, School of Expression in Boston. Seven of his books were used for at least ten years between 1907 and 1926.[139] Curry noted that the principle endeavour in preparing his Classic Selections

> has been to select such extracts as will be best adapted to develop the essential qualities of the voice, to furnish the greatest variety of examples for the illustration of the various steps in vocal expression, and at the same time to secure selections from the greatest number of the best authors, and the

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[134] Calendar 1908-1909, 18.

[135] Calendar 1922-1923, 23; Calendar 1923-1924, 20; and Calendar 1924-1925, 19.

[136] Calendar 1908-1909, 17; Calendar 1909-1910, 19; Calendar 1910-1911, 15; and Calendar 1912-1913, 30.

[137] Calendar 1909-1910, 16.

[138] Calendar 1910-1911; to Calendar 1924-1925: 20-24.

[139] See Appendix C for a more complete list of books used by MES.

most varied forms of literature.[140]

Curry's selections came from 104 different authors. The authors were typically Eighteenth and Nineteenth century English writers with one or two Americans.

In Curry's Foundations of Expression, a book which sold over 250,000 copies by its thirty-second printing in 1930, he stated the concern he had with "the superficial views of delivery so prevalent at the present time," also a concern of MES's, and he clarifies his approach, arguing that "every abnormal action or condition has its cause in the mind."[141]

In Mind and Voice Curry discussed in a "scientific" manner, complete with 105 exercises, the principles of speech.[142] In Curry's Spoken English, he argues for the importance of including spoken English in the school's curriculum and that the "spoken word, not the written word, is the real word."[143] In Little Classics for Oral English, Lessons in Vocal Expression, and in Vocal and Literary Interpretation of the Bible, Curry reinforced his earlier position that the "underlying principle is that thinking and feeling cause voice modulation; that expression is an outward manifestation of mental activity," "involving the

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[140] S.S. Curry, Classic Selections, (Boston: School of Expression, 1888), v.

[141] S.S. Curry, Foundations of Expression, (Boston: The Expression Company, 1907), 3-4.

[142] S.S. Curry, Mind and Voice: Principles and Methods in Vocal Training, (Boston: Expression Company, 1910), v.

[143] S.S. Curry, Spoken English, (Boston: Expression Company, 1913), 5-6.

whole man."[144] Curry, in his Imagination and Dramatic Instinct, suggested that "The imagination should be trained because the whole man should be trained, because it is the fountain-head of all noble feeling, and upon its discipline depends any true education of the emotions."[145]

Phyfe's book on pronunciation was also used. His rationale for correct pronunciation was markedly patrician. To the question of what importance is it to use correct pronunciation, his response in the opening words of his preface are: "at all events, it is certain that nothing marks more quickly a person's mental and social status than his practice in this regard."[146] Similarly he opens his first chapter by stating that "it was Dean Swift who said that `as a man is known by his company, so a man's company may be known by his manner of expressing himself.'"[147] Only a few pages into the text he again states: "The importance of correct pronunciation is twofold: first, it marks more clearly than any other one thing a person's general social standing; secondly, it greatly facilitates interchange of thought."[148]

The central themes in these books certainly reflect the ideas at MES. In particular, the threefold nature of a person

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[144] S.S. Curry, Little Classics for Oral English, (Boston: Expression Company, 1912), 3; S.S. Curry, Lessons in Vocal Expression: Course 1, (Boston: The Expression Company, 1895), v; and S.S. Curry, Vocal and Literary Interpretation of the Bible, (London: Macmillan Company, 1903), ix-x.

[145] S.S. Curry, Imagination and Dramatic Instinct, (Boston: The Expression Company, 1896), 8.

[146] WM. Henry Phyfe, How Should I Pronounce? (New York: G.P Putnam's Sons, 1885), v.

[147] Ibid., 1.

[148] Ibid., 6.

and the importance of proper elocution. Perhaps the elitism of Phyfe's book might also be reflective of MES's purpose.

2. English

The English curriculum, in 1908, consisted of composition, rhetoric and literature. Composition consisted of "writing of original compositions during the session." Rhetoric consisted of "the rhetorical structure of the sentence and paragraph." Literature consisted of "familiarity with and intelligent appreciation" of various texts. Nineteenth century English poetry was studied from 1908 through 1926.[149]

The 1909 Calendar listed three courses. One of these again included the Nineteenth century English poetry including works by Arnold, Browning, Byron, Coleridge, Coronach, Keats, Rossetti, Scott, Shelley, and Wordsworth.[150]

A second course was a third year course dealing with Spenser's "Faery Queen," Shakespeare's "King Lear" and "The Tempest," as well as Milton's "L'Allegro," "Il Penseroso," "Lycidas," with an additional note: "a general acquaintance with the whole of Paradise Lost, with a special critical study of the first two books."[151] This course description remained intact through 1919.[152] In 1920 the program was limited to a two year program and this course was then dropped.

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[149] Calendar 1908-1909; to Calendar 1924-1925: 14-17.

[150] Calendar 1909-1910, 14-15.

[151] Calendar 1909-1910, 15.

[152] Calendar 1912-1913; to Calendar 1919-1920: 13-18.

The third course, offered as a third year course, was described as "Prose Literature and Composition: The critical study of prose masterpieces and the writing of essays based upon that study." From 1910 to 1920 this course continued to be offered, and the "masterpieces" to be studied included selected essays from Addison, Swift's "Voyage to Lilliput," Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield," and Burke's "Conciliation with the Colonies."[153] By 1912 this course was listed for second year students, and a first year course in Prose Literature and Composition was added. The first year course included Scott's "Old Mortality," Carlyle's "The Hero as Man of Letters," George Eliot's "Mill on the Floss," and Ruskin's "Crown of Wild Olives."[154] This course ran through 1925 with a few changes in the reading selections.[155] From 1923 to 1924 this course was simply described as "the critical study of nineteenth and twentieth century prose masterpieces with essays based on that study."[156]

By 1910, there were two classes in English poetry. One of these was a continuation of the course on 19th century writers, while the second dealt with 18th century poets. The 19th century poets listed in Calendars through 1919 included Browning, Byron, Coleridge, Keats, Scott, Shelley, Tennyson, and Wordsworth. The 18th century poets listed in Calendars, also through 1919, included: Burns, Collins, Cowper, Dryden, Goldsmith, Gray, Pope,

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[153] Calendar 1910-1911; to Calendar 1920-1921: 13-20.

[154] Calendar 1912-1913, 26.

[155] Calendar 1913-14; to Calendar 1922-1923: 14-20.

[156] Calendar 1923-1924, 17; and Calendar 1924-1925, 16.

and Thomson.[157] In 1920, the courses were divided into Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Poetry and a second course on Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Poetry, studying essentially the same authors as in the previous course.[158]

In 1921, there was a return to a Nineteenth Century Poetry course, studying poets "from Wordsworth to our own times." The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century course studied poets "from Spencer to Burns." This format was used through 1924.[159] In 1925, there was only one course: "Modern English Poetry: Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Tennyson, Browning, Arnold, Rossetti." The text was Representative Poetry, published by University of Toronto Press.[160]

"English Dramatic Literature" was also taught. Courses in this section included "The Shakespeare Class," and "The Browning Class," which was subsequently dropped in 1916 in favour of a course on "English Drama."

From 1908 to 1925, an entire course was devoted to Shakespeare. The course met Wednesday mornings in the Principal's Studio. Twenty-three different plays were studied during this time. Seven were studied at least four times: "Romeo and Juliet," "Midsummer Night's Dream," "Hamlet," "As You Like it," "Julius Caesar," "Macbeth," and "Twelfth Night."[161] No such course was offered in 1925.

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[157] Calendar 1910-1911; to Calendar 1919-1920: 12-18.

[158] Calendar 1920-1921, 19.

[159] Calendar 1921-1922, 19; Calendar 1922-1923, 19; Calendar 1923-1924, 17; and Calendar 1924-1925, 16.

[160] Calendar 1925-1926 - Literature and Dramatic Art, 6.

[161] Calendar 1908-1909; to Calendar 1924-1925: 14-18.

Shakespeare was studied with the use of Dowden's text. A text which Dowden felt was different from other criticisms in that it inquired about Shakespeare's personality, "and to observe, as far as is possible, in its several stages the growth of his intellect and character from youth to full maturity."[162]

The "Browning Class" met from 1909 through 1915. It met "every Monday at eleven o'clock. The Ring and the Book and shorter poems of Browning are to be studied during 1909-1910."[163] These readings alternated every other year with "Paracelsus and shorter poems of Browning...."[164] Browning was one of the school's favourite authors. With the School's emphasis on dramatic expression this comes as no surprise. In the School's text on Browning,[165] Curry writes:

> he was the first, if not the only, English dramatic poet of the nineteenth century. With his deep insight into the life of his age, as well as his grasp of character, he was the one master whose writing was needed for the drama of that century;....[166]
>
> Any study of the monologue must thus centre attention upon Browning. As Shakespeare reigns the supreme master of the play, so Browning has no peer in the monologue. Others have followed him in its use, but his monologues remain the most numerous, varied, and expressive.[167]

From a less flattering perspective, one student recalled how Scott Raff was "sold on Browning. She used to talk an awful lot

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[162] Edward Dowden, Shakspere [sic]: A Critical Study of His Mind and Art, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1875), iii.

[163] Calendar 1909-1910, 16.

[164] Calendar 1910-1911; to Calendar 1915-1916: 14-16.

[165] S.S. Curry, Browning and the Dramatic Monologue, (New York: Haskell House, 1965).

[166] Ibid., 9-10.

[167] Ibid., 10.

about Browning.... She got a lot of people who thought it was the thing to do to talk about Browning."[168]

This class was changed in 1916 to a course on "Some Modern Dramatists." The 1916 Calendar stated: "The work of the following authors will be discussed, and representative plays read: Ibsen, Maeterlinck, Shaw, Yeats, Synge and Lady Gregory."[169] It is of interest that MES selected the controversial Ibsen as one of the authors.[170] This course was described this way through 1920,[171] with only a slight modification in 1920. In that year Maeterlinck and Lady Gregory were replaced with Tagore and Galsworthy. From 1920 through 1924, the course was listed under the title "English Drama." It was described as "A GENERAL outline of the development of the English Drama from its beginning to our own times, with special study of selected plays."[172] Once again, a similar course was not offered in the revised program of the 1925-1926 school year.

Certainly the writers selected were of some repute, and likely of most interest to the gentility, as well as providing literary thought to encourage proper elocution. For these reasons, Shakespeare's plays and Browning's monologues were

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[168] Interview with Mora MacLennan, by the author, September 26, 1991.

[169] Calendar 1916-1917, 17.

[170] As Ann Ardis notes: "Ibsen's doctrine that a woman, even though she be a mother, belongs to herself, crashed across Europe and into the America of the early 1880s as hideous, unholy, blasphemous preachment." In Ann Ardis, New Women, New Novels -- Feminism and Early Modernism (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 167.

[171] Calendar 1917-1918, 17; Calendar 1918-1919, 18; Calendar 1919-1920, 18; and Calendar 1920-1921, 19.

[172] Calendar 1920-1921; to Calendar 1924-1925: 16-19.

particularly popular at MES. But the school discussed contemporary, and at times controversial, writers.

3. Physical Education:

The Physical Education program began so that "the body, by a reverential, assiduous care, is made obedient to the mind."[173] However, this program acquired unique focus and would eventually form MES's entire curriculum.

Scott Raff's role as the founder of MES, placed her in a strategic position to shape the school's physical education curriculum. The purposes of physical education, as stated by her, are best found in her reports to the Council of Management at Annesley Hall where she also directed the physical education department till 1913. In a 1905 report, Scott Raff argues "[t]he real purpose of our gymnasium is to put our students into better condition for their work in life. For `exercise is the chief source of improvement in all our faculties and health is the soul that awakes all the enjoyments of life.'"[174] She then defends her position on Biblical grounds, though her theology is not traditional, when she states: "Exercise is as old as man--God said to Adam `In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread.' Thus we find that those who labour every day with mind and body until they sweat out the daily made impurities are the happiest and longest lived in the world over."[175] She also suggested that

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[173] "The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression," News (8 January 1907): 4.

[174] VUA, 90.064V, Box 3, File 19, "Director of Physical Education, Reports Re: Women's Use of the Gymnasium, 1905-1913," 1905.

[175] Ibid.

"[t]emperament and value of exercise go hand in hand. I believe that happiness and cheerfulness is necessary to perfect in the gym."[176] She concluded by arguing the "fortunate position" of the wealthy in that they can select activities which strengthen rather than weaken. She stated:

> The manual laborer who chops wood, or the washerwoman, and the girl who fences both perform muscular work--but the student who fences has her exercise at her own time and hour, regulated to her taste the time she allots to it, following the call of hygiene, diet and rest while the poor man or woman, works too much, feeds badly and sleeps little--thus work wears out the one while exercise strengthens the other.[177]

Several years later she stated one of the main purposes of physical education was to "stress freedom of the body not the development of muscle."[178] In 1911 she pleads for students not to see what physical education can do only for themselves, but the global responsibilities inherent in maintaining personal fitness. She concluded her plea with a quotation, "If each before his own door swept the village would be clean."[179]

The specific goals of physical education at MES, reflecting Scott Raff's view of the body being subservient to the mind, were set out in the 1908 and 1909 Calendar. "We believe in self-knowledge, self-reverence and self-control. When the body is perfectly adjusted, perfectly supplied with force, perfectly free and works with the greatest economy of expenditure, it is fitted

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[176] Ibid.

[177] Ibid.

[178] VUA, 90.064, Volume 1, "Minute Book, Committee of Management of Annesley Hall, January 1905," 8 April 1909.

[179] VUA, 90.064V, Box 3, File 19, "Director of Physical Education, Reports Re: Women's Use of the Gymnasium, 1905-1913," March 1911.

to be a perfect instrument, alike of impression and expression."[180]

In 1910, following a description of the growing interest in qualified physical education teachers and recreation leaders, the goals of physical education were more pragmatically written.

> The aim of this department is to provide young men and women a thorough training which will enable them to take advantage of these opportunities for service as teachers and supervisors of physical education in all its phases.[181]

There is no record of a male full-time graduate.

The 1916 Calendar, and subsequent ones, provided a more detailed account and defense of the Physical Education Program, particularly its emphasis on Chalif dance instruction. Though the earlier aim included men and women, the 1916 aim was specifically for "young women."[182]

No specific goals for Physical Education were listed in the 1918 Calendar. The 1919 to 1924 Calendars included only the first line from the above quotation; not mentioning anything about Chalif dancing.[183] The 1925 Physical Education Calendar simply stated the Schools aim in vocational terms: "to make its graduates competent to organize and take charge of every branch of physical training for girls."[184]

To implement these goals the specific program for Physical Education Student in the 1908 Calendar listed a first and second

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[180] Calendar 1908-1909, 16; and Calendar 1909-1910, 20.

[181] Calendar 1911-1912; to Calendar 1915-1916, 16-21.

[182] Calendar 1916-1917; and Calendar 1917-1918, 20-21.

[183] Calendar 1919-1920; to Calendar 1924-1925, 21-25.

[184] Calendar 1925-1926 - Physical Education, 6.

year course. The first year students took five theory courses including Anatomy, Physiology, Hygiene, Anthropometry and Swedish Theory. They also took eight "Practice" courses, including Swedish Free Exercises, Indian Clubs, Dumb Bells, Wands, Elementary Fencing, Aesthetic Gymnastics, Relaxing Exercises and Dancing Steps. In the second year they took only theory courses, including Applied Anatomy, Physiology of Exercise, Psychology Applied to Physical Training, Advanced Hygiene, Anthropometry (Measuring, Testing, Tabulating, Charting) and Remedial Gymnastics.[185]

By 1909 Folk Dance and Games was added to the first year, and History of Physical Education was added to the second year.[186] In 1910, Voice Culture and Elocution were added to the Practice portion of the first year students.[187] In 1913, Relaxing exercises and Elocution were removed and German Tactics was added. For the second year, Advanced Hygiene was removed and Kinesiology added.[188] More practice was added in 1914 with the addition of Practice Teaching in the first year and Practice in Measuring as well as First Aid and Home Nursing in the second year.[189] This same program was listed in 1915.[190] By 1916 the Physical Education two-year diploma course require the following:

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[185] Calendar 1908-1909, 16.

[186] Calendar 1909-1910, 20.

[187] Calendar 1910-1911, 16-17; and Calendar 1912-1913, 32.

[188] Calendar 1913-1914, 19.

[189] Calendar 1914-1915, 19. The Globe did advertise a 10 lecture course by Dr. Annie Ross on "Home Nursing and Emergencies" in the Fall of 1909. (23 October 1909): 4; and ((30 October 1909): 13.

[190] Calendar 1915-1916, 22.

First Year

THEORY:
Elements of Anatomy, Physiology and Hygiene, with special reference to Physical Education.
Theory of Educational Gymnastics.
PRACTICE:
Swedish Calisthenics and Light Gymnastics, including drills in Dumb-bells, Clubs, Wands, etc.
Tactics.
Aesthetic, National, and Folk Dancing.
Voice Culture.
Speaking.
The Elements of Physical Expression.

Second Year

THEORY:
Applied Anatomy.
Kinesiology.
Physiology of Psychology of Exercise.
History of Physical Education.
Anthropometry and Practice in Measuring.
Remedial Gymnastics.
First Aid and Home Nursing [given alternate years]
PRACTICE:
The continuation of First Year work.
Fencing.
Single-Sticks.
Corrective Exercises.
Original Class Drills in Dancing, Free-standing Exercises, Dumb-bells, Wands, Clubs, etc.
Indoor sports and Athletics.
Practice in Conducting Classes.[191]

By 1918, "Heavy Apparatus--horse, bars, rings, etc.," was added to the first year. Swimming was added in the second year and Dramatic Art was added for both years. Also in second year, voice culture and Public Speaking were added as well as in Playground Work."[192] By 1919, History of Physical Education was made a first-year course and several of the second-year practice courses were moved to the first-year list.[193]

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[191] Calendar 1916-1917; and Calendar 1917-1918, 14.

[192] Calendar 1918-1919, 23.

[193] Calendar 1919-1920, 15-16.

Methods of Teaching was added in 1920.[194] In 1922 "Games" was added for the first-year, and "Theory of Games" as well as a course in "School Hygiene," were added to the second-year.[195] In 1925 the Practical courses show an enlarged offering of courses. Included were:

> Gymnastics on Swedish and American Principles, Remedial Gymnastics, Practice Teaching, Folk and Aesthetic Dancing, Dalcroze Eurythmics, Fencing, Swimming, Life-Saving, Archery, Track and Field Athletics, Indoor and Outdoor Games, including Ground-hockey, Ice-hockey, Basketball, Baseball and Tennis; also Voice Training and Dramatic Art.[196]

The Theory courses are similar to 1916 except for the deletion of Kinesiology. In addition, 1925 is the first time the Physical Education Students attended a Summer Camp in the month of September, a month before school normally began. "In September, at Camp Tanamakoon, in addition to the regular course of instruction, there will be special courses in Riding, Canoeing, Sailing, Camp-craft, and Nature-lore. Overnight canoe-trips will be taken from time to time under the supervision of experienced guides."[197]

It would seem students did not react to these courses much differently than students do today. The poem below, on a student's reflections on an Anatomy course, is typical for the course.

THE CAUSE OF IT ALL

I would my tongue could utter

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[194] Calendar 1920-1921; and Calendar 1921-1922, 16-17.

[195] Calendar 1922-1923; to Calendar 1924-1925, 14-17.

[196] Calendar 1925-1926 - Physical Education, 6.

[197] Calendar 1925-1926 - Physical Education, 6; and advertisement, Globe (18 July 1925): 3.

Some thoughts that arise in me!
From dawn of day till midnight
Ye Gods!--Anatomy!

I hate those awful muscles
That in us mortals be,
Where are their weird insertions?
Ye Gods!--Anatomy!

Why were we made so queerly?
'Tis more than I can see;
Of bones and skin and muscles
Ye Gods!--Anatomy!

Now, when my life is ended,
Written plain, as plain can be,
The poor girl died of studying,
Ye Gods!--Anatomy!

Marjorie McGillivray[198]

Several texts were used in the Physical Education Program. Typically, texts selected were written by leaders in the field, and often focused on the important role of the nervous system, hygiene, and correcting defects.

Macy and Morris' book argued that conscious motion and sensation was a characteristic of animals, and something plants are devoid of. Therefore, this book begins with the "organ of consciousness--the nervous system," then studies the "organs of motion and sensation," and ends with the "sustenance of those organs."[199]

DeNancrede's Essentials of Anatomy is more academic, written for "Students of Medicine."[200] It points out the facts of "essential anatomy," and reads like a descriptive catalogue of

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[198] Marjory McGillivray, "The Cause of it all," Mesolae, (1921): 47.

[199] M.L. Macy, and H.W. Norris, A General Physiology for High Schools Based Upon the Nervous System, (New York: American Book Company, 1900), 3.

[200] Charles B.G. DeNancrede, Essentials of Anatomy, (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders, 1913).

anatomical parts.

Martin's book on the human body was used as a text for anatomy and physiology. This text was "not designed for specialists." In addition to Human Anatomy and Physiology, Newell stated, "wherever it seemed to me really profitable, hygienic topics have also been discussed."[201] The Seven hundred pages of the book dealt with cells, body systems, various organs, and nutrition.

Bowen's later book on anatomy and kinesiology was also used at the Sargent School. It was also the first volume of a series on physical education edited by the well known R. Tait Mackenzie. Though the book contains more anatomy than kinesiology, the anatomy is there to assist the reader to understand kinesiology. For Bowen, Kinesiology included

> a study of the principal types of muscular exercise, with inquiry as to how they are performed, how they react on the body, and their relation to the problems of bodily development, bodily efficiency, and the prevention and cure of certain defects and deformities.[202]

Bowden certainly wished to make people aware of pathological conditions--particularly postural deficiencies--therapeutics, and personal hygiene.

Leighton's specialized book on embryology seems somewhat amiss in the collection of books used. Not until the conclusion of the book does one glimpse why students at MES studied this text. Leighton writes:

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[201] H. Newell Martin, The Human Body: Its Structure and Activities and the Conditions of its Healthy Working, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1934), v.

[202] Wilbur, P. Bowen, Applied Anatomy and Kinesiology, (Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1923), v.

> In many directions the inherited tendencies transmitted by the continuity of germ-plasm are unalterably and strictly defined. In many other directions these inherited tendencies can be so modified, drawn out, or even partially suppressed, by suitable surroundings of a hygienic, educative, and moral nature, that if the process be taken in hand sufficiently early wonderful success may result... it is only by a study of the science of Heredity and Embryology that accurate data can be obtained from which justifiable conclusions may be drawn.[203]

Or, as Jesse Williams notes when discussing the important place embryology has in his text: "Bones, muscles, nervous system, and viscera have meaning when introduced in the light of their origin and development."[204] This emphasis on heredity is reflective of MES's conservative, and elitist, perspective.

Jesse Williams' A Textbook of Anatomy and Physiology was intended for "Workers in the field of practical arts: Household Arts, Nursing, Occupational Therapy, Physical Education and Physiotherapy." The text was comprehensive and provided practical exercises and 369 illustrations.[205]

For Gymnastics, Posse's book[206] was first used, and later replaced with Knudsen's.[207] Posse was a graduate of the Royal Gymnastic Central Institute in Sweden, and was instrumental in developing the Swedish system in the USA through the Boston

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[203] Gerald Leighton, Embryology: The Beginnings of Life, (New York: Dodge Publishing, 1912), 88.

[204] Jesse Feiring Williams, A Textbook of Anatomy and Physiology, (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders, 1923), 9.

[205] Ibid., 9-11.

[206] Baron Nils Posse, Handbook of School Gymnastics (Boston: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, 1902.

[207] K. A. Knudsen, A Text-book of Gymnastics, (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1923).

Normal School and later his own school.[208] He defined the aim of these "educational gymnastics" as developing

> the body into a harmonious whole under the perfect control of the will. It is not to produce great bulk of muscle, but to cause that already present to respond readily to volition; to improve the functional activity of the body; and to counteract and correct tendencies to abnormal development, especially those resulting from "the artificial life of civilization."[209]

Furthermore, he noted that "No teacher should attempt to apply a movement which he does not fully understand." To this he adds: "No exercise should be used because `it looks pretty.' The more an exercise has the `corrective' effect..., the greater is its value."[210] He encouraged a balance between recreation and drill, and loose clothing--"blouse-waists (no corsets!) and light skirts for girls."[211] These general instructions are followed by approximately 130 pages of very precise and technical descriptions of exercises and "One Hundred Progressive Tables of Exercises." Knudsen wrote a similar book and saw the role of the teacher as follows: "For as the sick body is the sphere of the doctor, so the sound body is the sphere of the teacher of gymnastics; and as the sculpture moulds and shapes the marble, so the teacher of gymnastics moulds and shapes the living flesh and blood."[212] He viewed the Swedish system of gymnastics as emphasizing the harmonious development of a healthy body characterized by "the well-poised head, arched chest, free

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[208] Posse, Cover and 8-9.

[209] Ibid., 11.

[210] Ibid., 12.

[211] Ibid., 12-26.

[212] Knudsen, vi.

carriage and easy, supple movements... and that the most important functions of the body are carried on as smoothly and thoroughly as possible.[213]

Clearly the focus of physical activity was to develop mental control of the body and to correct and prevent physical defects, such as poor posture. Related to these ideas was the concern for good personal and community hygiene. Running through all of this is a strong contradiction: the "artificial life of civilization" needed to be counteracted with "scientific" remedial activities. It is a view of life that sees the natural as desirable, but only if understood and controlled with the mind.

4. Miscellaneous offerings:

French and German were taught for many years, and several other courses were offered from time to time as the need arose. These other courses included Household Science, History, and Psychology.

French was listed in the 1908 Calendar. The curriculum consisted of grammar, composition, dictation, conversation and literature.[214] The Calendars from 1909 to 1915 listed French and German together, as "three years progressive study of French and German Grammar, Composition, Conversation and Reading. Special texts for class readings will be selected."[215] In 1916 German was no longer offered, perhaps as a response to the war, and the

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213 Ibid.

214 Calendar 1908-1909, 15.

215 Calendar 1909-1910; to Calendar 1915-1916, 13-16.

French Department gave a more complete description of its goals and program, a description which remained through 1925. The principle benefits of French were listed as assisting in communicating with "another people," and in improving the use of "one's own language."[216] It is of interest that the justification for French was as a foreign language, not as a language indigenous to Canada. Calendars following 1925 do not list French as a course offering, possibly because the new curriculum emphasised theatre rather than a more general cultural education.

A detailed course description in Household Science was included in the 1908 and 1909 Calendars.[217] By 1910, it was simply listed as a course "taught at the Lillian Massey School of Household Science,"[218] and after 1912, it was no longer listed in the Calendars.

There were three short-lived courses in History, offered from 1912 to 1913. First year students studied Canadian History, Second year students studied British Modern History, and Third year students studied General Modern History. The readings for the Canadian History course offered in 1912 and 1913 consisted of two books. The first was entitled Pitt, written by Rosebery, the second was entitled A History of Canada, by Charles G. D. Roberts.[219] There is no apparent reason for why these courses were offered, or discontinued.

In 1912, a brief six lecture course was offered in

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[216] Calendar 1916-1917; to Calendar 1924-1925: 17-22.

[217] Calendar 1908-1909, 15; and Calendar 1909-1910, 15.

[218] Calendar 1910-1911, 13; and Calendar 1912-1913, 27.

[219] Calendar 1912-1913, 27; and Calendar 1913-1914, 15.

psychology and taught by a Professor A. H. Abbott, "with readings by Mrs. Scott Raff."[220] There was also a short-lived offering of Psychology, from 1921 to 1922. One course focused on "sense-processes," and the "higher processes of Memory, Imagination, Perception and Judgement, and their basis in the Laws of Association."[221] The second-year course dealt with measurement of intelligence and focused on the "Study of Motive, Decision, Volition and Habit, with illustrations drawn from the field of imaginative literature."[222]

C. Program advertisements:

The first advertisement for the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, on North Street in Toronto, was in the Globe on August 4, 1906:

> The Modern Languages and Literature--Music and Art--Voice and Physical Culture--Household Science. Autumn term begins October 2. Mrs. Scott Raff F.C.M. Principal. Write for Calendar. Box 423 Toronto."[223]

This same advertisement was used in January of 1907 when the school began in its new building on the seventh of that month. With the additional note about a course in "Dramatic Art," the advertisement was run again prior to reopening the School on

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[220] Advertisement, Globe (19 March 1912): 5.

[221] Calendar 1921-1922; and Calendar 1922-1923, 20-21.

[222] Ibid.

[223] Advertisements, Globe, 1906: (28 July): 11; to (29 December): 11.

October 1.[224]

The description in the advertisement changed somewhat in 1908. It stated that the school "offers a Practical Education for Women and Girls in English, Literature, French and German Conversation, Physical Culture, Voice Culture and Interpretation."[225] The 1909 advertisement listed the offerings as: "English Literature, French and German, Physical Culture, Voice Culture, Singing, Interpretation and Dramatic Art."[226]

In the Spring of 1910 the advertisement read: "Students may register at any time for class work or personal instruction in English Literature, French and German, Physical Culture, Voice Culture, Interpretation and Dramatic Art."[227] The same courses, with the addition of Oratory, were offered in 1911 through 1916.[228]

The 1917 advertisement deleted German and listed the principal by her new name Mrs. George Nasmith. The courses now offered are: "English, French, Physical Training, Voice Training,

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[224] Advertisement, Globe, (5 January 1907): 11; to (5 December 1907): 11; and Saturday Night (28 September to 7 December): 15; and (14 December to 28 December): 17.

[225] Advertisements, Globe, 1908: (4 January): 18; to (26 December): 11; and Saturday Night (4 January to 26 December): 15.

[226] Advertisements, Globe, 1909: (2 January): 11; to (29 December): 11; and Advertisements, Saturday Night, 1909: (2 January to 30 October): 15; and (6 November to 25 December): 14.

[227] Advertisements, Globe, 1910: (1 January): 11; to (31 December): 12; and Advertisements, Saturday Night, 1910: (1 January to 9 April): 14.

[228] Advertisements, Globe, 1911: (7 January): 9; to (30 December): 8; and Advertisements, Saturday Night, 1911: (15 April to 30 December): 6; Advertisements, Globe, (6 January 1912): 9; to (30 December 1916): 11; and Advertisements, Saturday Night, (6 January 1912): 6; to ((30 December 1916): 6.

Expression and Dramatic Art."[229] The 1918 and 1919 advertisements listed these same courses as options for day and evening classes.[230] Similar advertisements were run in 1920, except for the new opening date of September 15, and a note that there was a "residence for women students."[231] Similar advertisements were run in Saturday Night through 1926.[232] In 1922, the Globe advertisement noted that "This School Offers Two Normal Courses, Open to Matriculants, for the Training of Teachers in Physical Education and Dramatic Art." The former course, getting more attention, "under the direction of Mary G. Hamilton, gives thorough training in the practice and theory of Physical Education." The latter course, using essentially the previous advertisements, "includes the study of Literature, French, Voice and Physical training, and the practice of Dramatic Art, Public Speaking and Reading." The advertisement concluded by stating: "Each of these courses extends over a period of two years, and a third year's study gives graduation in both."[233]

XXII. Faculty

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[229] Advertisement, Globe, 1917: (6 January): 5; to (29 December): 7; and Advertisements, Saturday Night, 1917: (6 January to 29 December): 6.

[230] Advertisements, Globe, (5 January 1918): 10; to (27 December): 4; and Advertisements, Saturday Night (5 January 1918 to 27 December 1919): 6.

[231] Advertisement, Globe, 1920: (3 January): 4; to (30 October): 25; and Saturday Night (3 January to 25 December 1920): 6.

[232] Advertisements, Globe, (28 May 1921): 21; to (18 September 1926): 18; and Advertisements, Saturday Night (2 January 1921 to 2 October 1926): 6.

[233] Advertisements, Globe, 1922: (12 August): 10; to (30 September): 20x; and Saturday Night (1 January to 30 December 1922): 6.

The faculty throughout this period consisted of several full-time instructors, complemented with part-time instructors, some of whom were males (See Appendix E2). For the thirteen full-time faculty, the most common degree was a BA, which was held by seven faculty. Fallis, who taught for only one year in 1919-1920, was the only one with a Ph.D; Scott Raff and two MES graduates, Marsh and LeVesconte, held diplomas. The credentials for two are unknown; Mary Hamilton was one of these and did not have a BA. Of the eighty-seven part-time instructors ten had a Ph.D. or MD, and were usually university professors teaching anatomy or doctors responsible for physical examinations. As to the part-timers, two had MA's, five had BA's, five had diplomas, and twenty-six were attending or had graduated from MES.

The longest full-time faculty member was the principal, Emma Scott Raff. In 1916 she married George G. Nasmith, C.M.G., and, as Emma Nasmith, continued her work as Principal of the School till 1924.[234] During her principalship, she selected all faculty.[235]

Charlotte Ross joined the faculty in 1906 and accepted the Vice-Principal appointment in 1916. People said of her that it would be "difficult to estimate the influence of this quiet scholarly woman.... Her life was devoted to her work, and it was significant in its singleness of purpose."[236]

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[234] Jackson, 13.

[235] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, November 4, 1918, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[236] Ibid.

Helen Ward Armington was a graduate of the Sargent School, Boston, and taught dancing and gymnastics.[237] She also assisted Scott Raff at Victoria College, where Scott Raff described her as one who "was thoroughly qualified for her work and could not fail to rouse enthusiasm among her students, when they learned the value of what she had to give them."[238] She only worked for a year or so, for in the Fall of 1907 she was "unable to return to Toronto, having been stricken with tuberculosis."[239] Upon Armington's retirement Constance Wreyford from the Hemenway Gymnasium, Harvard University, proved "herself a worthy successor" at MES and Victoria.[240] Scott Raff described Wreyford as "painstaking and earnest and is herself a good exponent of the art she teaches."[241]

The appointment of Mary G. Hamilton as head of the work in Physical Education took place following Wreyford's resignation, and marriage in 1910; Hamilton replaced her a year earlier at Victoria.[242] Scott Raff wrote: "I have had the very competent assistance of Miss Hamilton, last of the Kingston Y.W.C.A., a

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[237] Jackson, 10.

[238] VUA, 90.064, Volume 1, "Minute Book, Committee of Management of Annesley Hall, January 1905," 10 April 1907.

[239] VUA, 90.064, Volume 1, "Minute Book, Committee of Management of Annesley Hall, January 1905," 9 October 1907.

[240] VUA, 90.064V, Box 3, File 19, "Director of Physical Education, Reports Re: Women's Use of the Gymnasium, 1905-1913," 13 November 1907; VUA, 90.064, Volume 1, "Minute Book, Committee of Management of Annesley Hall, January 1905," 9 October 1907; and Jackson, 10

[241] VUA, 90.064, Volume 1, "Minute Book, Committee of Management of Annesley Hall, January 1905," 13 May 1908.

[242] VUA, 90.064, Volume 1, "Minute Book, Committee of Management of Annesley Hall, January 1905," 11 February 1909, 11 March 1909, and 8 April 1909.

gentlewoman that knows her work and how to teach it."[243] In addition, Scott Raff referred to her as "a most competent instructor,"[244] and "a very desirable assistant."[245] While teaching at Victoria, Hamilton resided in Annesley Hall in exchange for teaching and assisting in "sitting up at night."[246] Besides teaching at MES, Hamilton was also in charge of Physical Education at Bishop Strachan School, and Branksome Hall, two private girls' schools in Toronto.[247] Jackson noted that through the persistent efforts of Hamilton, the Diploma Course in Physical Education became firmly entrenched within the School, and Hamilton's Monday Evening Classes in dancing marked one of the early achievements in organized recreation for women in Toronto.[248]

Mildred Marsh and Phyllis Strathy, both "talented" graduates of the School assisted Hamilton in the teaching of Classical and Interpretive Dancing. Marsh was, in addition, a graduate of the

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[243] VUA, 90.064V, Box 3, File 19, "Director of Physical Education, Reports Re: Women's Use of the Gymnasium, 1905-1913," Winter 1909.

[244] VUA, 90.064V, Box 3, File 19, "Director of Physical Education, Reports Re: Women's Use of the Gymnasium, 1905-1913," March 1911.

[245] VUA, 90.064V, Box 3, File 19, "Director of Physical Education, Reports Re: Women's Use of the Gymnasium, 1905-1913," 14 April 1910.

[246] VUA, 90.064, Volume 1, "Minute Book, Committee of Management of Annesley Hall, January 1905," 11 November 1909, 9 December 1909, 14 June 1910, and 11 January 1912; and VUA, 90.064V, Box 3, File 19, "Director of Physical Education, Reports Re: Women's Use of the Gymnasium, 1905-1913," January 1912.

[247] Jackson, 20.

[248] Jackson, 20.

Vestoff-Serova School of Dancing, New York City.[249]

Mrs. W.H. Hincks was the wife of the prominent United Church minister, Rev. Dr. W.H. Hincks. She died in 1925.[250] Florence Withrow provided some part-time instruction for a few years. She was a world traveller and died in Vancouver in 1947.[251]

In the Fall of 1913 Emma Scott Raff reported: "Our Committee on appointments authorized me to add three new names to the list of Faculty. Miss Dora Mavor and Miss Helen McFetridge, graduates of the school, are busy at work, and Miss Pearl McNeill, a graduate of Victoria College."[252] McFetridge maintained her teaching position at MES for ten years.[253]

A note from 1915 suggests schedules for the faculty. Ross taught eighteen classes a week; Hamilton twelve classes; Thomas eight, Nothnagel four; McAllister three to five, McFetridge three. Thomas was in her office four hours a week, McFetridge two. Thomas, Hamilton, and McFetridge also held rehearsals and special classes. McFetridge also had private students. Scott Raff was at MES daily, from nine to five.[254]

In 1918, Emma Scott Raff noted that the School's faculty were all salaried teachers, working at their speciality year-round, and annually attended professional upgrade courses--most

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[249] Ibid.

[250] "Rev. Dr. W.H. Hincks," Globe and Mail (30 March 1944): 5.

[251] "Florence E. Withrow - World Traveller Stricken at 76," Globe and Mail (27 December 1947): 7.

[252] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, October 1913, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[253] Jackson, 13.

[254] "The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, 1913-1914," AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Financial Statements (1906-1913)."

often in Boston and New York.[255]

In January of 1920, Emma Scott Raff reported on the hiring of Dwight Fallis. He was previously a professor at Queen's University and

> is proving to be a strong asset to the faculty of the school and at Knox College and St. Michael's. With the hope that he might awaken a universal interest in Public Speaking, we have given him great publicity as a teacher of this Art. In the Department of Technique of Expression, where Miss Thomas seemed to fail, he is proving very successful.

Other part-time teachers included, Esther Baskette ('16), Phyllis Strathy ('20), and Anne Hodgins, a graduate of the Sargent School.[256]

In the 1919-1920 school year $200 to $600 bonuses were given to some of the faculty.[257] But the faculty did not appear pleased about the proposed 1920-1921 salary.[258] Judging by a 1925 newspaper article that listed the maximum salary for female teachers in Toronto public schools as $1,500,[259] the MES salaries of $1,700 to $3,300 were not low.

The male faculty held varied positions, and were fewer.[260]

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[255] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, November 4, 1918, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[256] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, January 12, 1920, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[257] Mr. Eaton from Emma Scott Raff, June 17, 1920, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[258] Mr. Eaton from Emma Scott Raff, June 17, 1920, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[259] "May Pay Teachers by New Schedule," Globe (1 December 1925): 14.

[260] Jackson, 18. For more on Fallis and Greaves, see: Report from Emma Scott Nasmith to The Directors of The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression,

Perhaps males filled the job temporarily until a female faculty member could be hired. Of the male instructors, the two Corsons taught swimming from 1918 until 1925. George Corson was an expert in his field and wrote a book on diving and swimming.[261] Robertson was the Medical Examiner for ten years. Sparrow taught voice for three years. William Costain, who taught anatomy at MES, received distinction for a Lymphaticostomy operation helpful in the treatment of peritonitis.[262]

Though it may be true that there was more interest in having female faculty at the School, Scott Raff did not appear adverse to hiring qualified male faculty when necessary. The female faculty were specialists in their field, several of whom were MES graduates, and continued to take courses to keep abreast in their field. In the early part of this period they were not paid well and managed by living in student accommodation, and holding related jobs on a part-time basis. By the end of the period they were more adequately paid, which in turn also contributed to MES's growing deficit.

XXIII. Students

Which women did MES want to teach? Which women chose to go

(Fall 1919), AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924);" "Lectures on Art of Reading Aloud," Globe (20 April 1922): 16x; and "Would-Be Orators Must Study Voice," Mail and Empire (28 November 1924): 5.

[261] George Corson, The Diving and Swimming Book, (Toronto: Barnes and Company, 1925).

[262] "Cases of Peritonitis Under New Treatment," Mail and Empire (27 December 1924): 5.

to MES? What was the ideal graduate for MES? What use did the graduates make of their MES experience? Solutions to these questions are pursued through an analysis of MES's entrance and other requirements, student life, the graduation process, and alumnae activities.

A. Student Admission Requirements and Background

The admission regulations for students were not spelled out in much detail in the early years.[263] By the 1908-1909 school year one reads "we raised the educational standard to matriculation [completion of grade 13] for those people wanting teachers' training."[264] The 1908 to 1910 calendars read: "Pupils may enter at any time but only those students registered at the beginning of the school year are eligible for class standing and prizes."[265]

In addition to written admission requirements, there was also a clear understanding that students were to be "well physically... morally... reliable... [and] come from the best homes in Toronto, and elsewhere...."[266]

With increased enrolment, and with MES becoming an established educational institution, the requirements were strengthened. In 1916, students seeking a diploma were "strongly advised to complete the course of study of the secondary schools.

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[263] Calendar 1908-1909, 18; and Calendar 1909-1910, 22.

[264] Report from Emma Scott Raff, 2.

[265] Calendar 1910-1911; to Calendar 1915-1916: 21-23.

[266] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, October 1914, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

Those failing to do so must satisfy the Faculty that their educational attainments are sufficient to enable them to pursue the work of the School with success."[267] Part-time students, on the other hand, could register for any number of classes, begin at any time, and needed no educational pre-requisites.[268]

By 1919, those who wished to graduate in the Normal Course in Physical Education, and did not complete secondary school, would have to "take a preparatory year in which stress would be laid upon English Literature, and oral and written Composition."[269] In 1920 no change was made with respect to part-time students or the fee policies, however, those following programs which lead to a diploma, "are required to have matriculation or Junior Leaving standing or their equivalent."[270] In 1922 the requirements for full-time students were more flexible while preserving the same standards. MES required passing of "the Matriculation Examination or the Entrance to Normal, or to have an equivalent standing... [and] is required to pass a physical examination."[271] The 1925 Calendar for Literature and Drama did not list any admission requirements, while the Physical Education Calendar provided fewer academic requirements than was previously the case. In physical education each "candidate enters for one term on trial in order that her suitability for the work may be determined. A student may be

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[267] Calendar 1916-1917; to Calendar 1918-1919: 9 & 11.

[268] Ibid.

[269] Calendar 1919-1920, 10.

[270] Calendar 1920-1921, 11.

[271] Calendar 1922-1923, 11; and Calendar 1923-1924, 33.

required at any time to withdraw if her work or conduct is not satisfactory."[272]

Students' actual qualifications varied. In the Fall of 1913 Scott Raff, noted:

> This will be our best year if we can hold the pupils already enroled for they do not only exceed in numbers but the personnel of the new classes, temperamentally and mentally, is quite above any former classes. Most of the incoming students registered for the Teachers' and Professional Courses are matriculants, or those having covered Junior or Senior Leaving in Collegiate and College.[273]

The following year, in discussing the full-time students, she noted that "most of the them are matriculants or have covered the work of the lower and middle schools in Colleges and Collegiates. Several of these are girls who were being educated abroad."[274]

Scott Raff's comments in 1914 suggest that some MES students came from well-to-do homes. Responses from six graduates from this period also support that conclusion.[275] All six respondents were born in Canada; with two exceptions their parents had been born in Canada. One mother was a high school teacher, another an accountant;[276] the others were homemakers. Two fathers, a lawyer and physician, were professionals. One was a manager, three

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[272] Calendar 1925-1926: Physical Education, 9.

[273] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, October 1913, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[274] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, October 1914, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[275] Interviews with Nora MacLennan, September 26, 1991; Agnes Moffat, November 2 & 16, 1991; Elizabeth Pitt, October 31, 1991; and Lillian Thomson, July 10, 1991; and correspondence with Kathleen Pepler Hall, October 15, 1991; and Mary Barker, October 9, 1991.

[276] According to Mary Barker her mother was the "first female Certified Public Accountant in North America." Correspondence with Mary Barker, with the author, October 9, 1991.

proprietors of businesses. Three MES students had graduated from public high schools, three from private schools. As George Nasmith put it, MES "proved to be a centre of culture among the women who have the leisure of studying the best in literature."[277]

B. Student Life

In addition to the entrance requirements, the calendars also specified specific regulations governing the students. The 1908 Calendar noted that students would be "required to sign an agreement to keep the rules of the school and pursue faithfully the course of study appointed by the authorities." A second regulation, likely designed to protect MES's image, stated: "Students of the first year will not be permitted to make any professional engagements. Any student of the second year desiring to do so must first obtain the consent of the Principal."[278] In 1909 the regulations were the same, except for the deletion of the signed agreement.[279]

From 1915 to 1923 no regulations appeared in the calendars. However, in a "Word to the Students" in 1916, a word that was expanded on in the 1920 quotation below, the expectations on the student were made very clear, and the expectations were clearly those for a well-to-do girl. The Calender noted:

> The years of study should be years of reasonable quiet and concentration. A student may find herself at a distinct disadvantage if distracted by domestic duties, or social functions. No girl can lead the

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[277] Nasmith, 270-272.

[278] Calendar 1908-1909, 13.

[279] Calendar 1909-1910; to Calendar 1915-1916: 12-14.

> life of a society woman and of a serious student at the same time, and the attempt to do so may lead to permanently injurious nerve strain....[280]

The 1917 Calendar also provided a "Word for the Students." This "word" was taken from the previous commencement address, given by George Nasmith. He argued, that on account of the war "Many things that before seemed of supreme importance, like money and position, no longer hold first place." He encouraged them to "follow those whom they know are true to the best interests and ideals of the nation." He concluded by saying they "will ultimately arrive, not at the goal to which you were predestined, but to that for which you have striven."[281]

By 1923 the general regulations were back. The Government of the School was again spelled out, and in addition it was noted: "Students are required to be present at all lectures and recitals. These are an essential part of the work, and absence from them will lower the student's record."[282] The 1925 Literature and Drama Calendar did not list any regulations but the Physical Education Calendar did. It noted: "Except in a case of sudden illness or emergency, no student may absent herself from any lecture or examination, without previous permission from the Director." It also brought back the previous regulation that "[s]tudents may not take teaching engagements without permission from the Director."[283]

Before 1919 the school year began in October and ended in

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[280] Calendar 1916-1917; and Calendar 1920-1921, 25.

[281] Calendar 1917-1918, 25.

[282] Calendar 1923-1924, 33; and Calendar 1924-1925, 32.

[283] Calendar 1925-1926: Physical Education, 9.

May: there were three ten week sessions.[284] In 1919 the MES school year was extended by five weeks for a fourth five week session.[285] In 1920 the ten week sessions were extended to twelve weeks and the five week session abandoned.[286] In 1925 the Literature and Drama schedule ran from October 5 to June 9.[287] The Physical Education Department's schedule began a month earlier, to accommodate a camping session.[288]

There were also clothing regulations. At least beginning in 1920 students were required to wear a regulation costume for both school and camp.[289] Jackson described the earlier costume as consisting of "middies and skirts," and the new 1920 costume consisting of "a navy blue serge tunic over a plain white blouse."[290]

The fees varied according to the courses one enroled in, and are listed in Appendix B. The full-time fees were comparable to those charged at the University of Toronto.[291] From 1908 to 1918, full-time fees were $150, in 1919 they went to $200, from 1921 to 1925 they went to $300, and finally in 1925/1926 they

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[284] Calendar 1908-1909; to Calendar 1918-1919, 10-21.

[285] Calendar 1919-1920, 11.

[286] Calendar 1920-1921; to Calendar 1922-1923: 11 & 12; Calendar 1923-1924, 34; and Calendar 1924-1925, 33.

[287] Calendar 1925-1926: Literature and Drama, 10.

[288] Calendar 1925-1926: Physical Education, 5.

[289] Calendar 1920-1921; to Calendar 1924-1925, 24-29; and Calendar 1925-1926: Physical Education, 9.

[290] Jackson, 19.

[291] UTA: University of Toronto Calendars - 1910-1911, P78-0021(23/24); and 1920-1921, P78-0032(03).

were $250. From 1908 to 1917 part-time courses could be taken for four dollars for one hour a week of lessons per week, for 1917 to 1925 this was raised to approximately six dollars. It was the feeling of those interviewed that the parents paid for the education of the students.

Various awards were offered to students. The first recorded awards were in 1907, when it was announced that there were "three scholarships of $50 each in the Elocution Department."[292] The number of awards steadily increased through 1924, but in 1925, with the new format for the school, only two awards were given. The awards and recipients are listed in Appendix F1.

The only criterion published for any prizes was for the Dorothy Scott Raff Optima Prize. This award was to be given "in the Third Year to the student who, during her three years' course, has shown, not only diligence in her work, but the finest spirit of helpfulness and of self forgetfulness in her attitude toward others."[293] Though in the case of other scholarships competitions were held.[294]

The importance of scholarships was emphasized by Scott Raff in 1915. She acknowledged the "valuable scholarships given by Mr. A.C. Rogers, Mr. R.Y. Eaton, Mr. McGee, and Mr. Vaughan have been the means of discovering talent and have given instruction

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[292] Advertisement, Globe, 1907: (12 October): 5; (19 October): 11; and (26 October): 4.

[293] Calendar 1916-1917; to Calendar 1918-1919, 28-29.

[294] Advertisement, Globe (19 October 1907): 15; (5 November 1910): 22; (3 December 1910): 23; (14 December 1912): 17; (21 December 1912): 21; (29 November 1913): 11; (6 December 1913): 3; (13 December 1913): 22; (7 and 14 November): 9; (20 November 1915): 4; (27 November 1915): 5; (4 December 1915): 11; (11 December 1915): 5; (2 December 1916): 4; (24 November 1917): 5; (14 December): 5; and Advertisements, Saturday Night (4 January 1913): 10; and (6 December 1913): 10.

to some who would otherwise not have been able to study."[295] In a letter following this report, Scott Raff stated: "Dr. Burwash will tell you of the plan adopted by the University regarding a Chair Scholarship or Endowment which would solve the problem and relieve the head of the school from worry for all time. This I want to be assured of, not for myself, but for the permanence of the school."[296] This suggestion was not acted upon.

By 1915 these scholarships had been divided into three different types. Group I included the Josephine Burnside Scholarships worth $200.00, and as Scott Raff described it,

> the $200.00 scholarship was first given to the students of the Methodist Deaconess Training School but was divided afterwards with the Anglican School when they applied for the training. They really each get $200.00 worth of lectures because we have added a course in Physical Education.... This department of our work is very important and we want $600.00 in scholarship-donation to carry it on.[297]

The Group II scholarships were intended to "get students of special talent to the school. They are given an option as to what training they desire in the English or Expression Departments and it includes Voice and Physical Training." The monies were used to pay for tuition. Included among these scholarships were the R.Y. Eaton, the Harry McGee, and the J.J. Vaughan Scholarships. The Group III scholarships were intended for the training of the individual, and "the scholarship is not

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[295] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, November 15, 1915, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[296] E. Scott Raff to R.Y. Eaton, November 29, 1915, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924)."

[297] E. Scott Raff to J.A. Livingstone, December 1, 1915, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924)."

to be used for payment of class fees," or in other words, "this tuition is over and above the School Course for which student has already enroled." Included in this group of scholarships are the Matilda Rogers, Margaret Evelyn Boeckh, and Letitia R. Armstrong Scholarships.[298] The purpose was to attract capable students to the school.

In 1907, MES was said to have 167 students.[299] The school continued to grow through this period, as shown on Table 3. However, the exact number of students is difficult to determine and verify. Table 3 is pieced together by various reports and financial documents.[300] For example, one report listed the total number of students as follows: 1909, 161 students; 1910, 201 students; 1911, 260 students; and in 1912, 304 students.[301] Furthermore, one reads:

> The evening classes are large, in fact the business woman's class has had to be closed because the studio will not hold more than its present membership of one hundred and twenty-five. This class is a constant inspiration as well as a challenge to me to give to these practical business women what they are seeking--"something worth while."[302]

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[298] Ibid.

[299] "Literature and Expression".

[300] "Margaret Eaton School Closing," Globe (23 May 1912): 8; UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 1a, "Margaret Eaton School (D.D.M. as Student)--commencement 1912;" Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, October 1914, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924);" Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, November 15, 1915, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924);" and Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, November 4, 1918, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[301] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, November 1912, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[302] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, October 1913, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

Table 3: Number of registrations, 1906-1926

From 1906 to 1913, one to twelve students a year from Annesley Hall, took MES's Saturday morning courses in Physiology, Hygiene and Pedagogy.[303]

In January 1920, Scott Raff reported: "There are four hundred and thirty registered at the Extension and over six hundred at the School. What pleases us most is the list of thirty-five taking the full two hundred dollar course."[304] These numbers are difficult to verify since there are no receipts or class lists. Furthermore, one wonders what is included in the numbers. For example, it is not clear if the 430 registrations at the Extension included each time a person went for a "plunge" in the pool, or only those who received a lesson.

An analysis of the 1920-21 financial year indicates eight-four different people registered for part-time course work, yet 1390 students are indicated as being registered as part-time students. This discrepancy can be explained in several ways. One, the eighty-four people does not include the Deaconess class of approximately forty students, nor does it include the 237 club members. Secondly, perhaps each person registered for an average of three courses a year; this is not unlikely since the school was organized on a tri-mester system. Assuming each of the eighty-four students took an average of three courses one is still left with 861 registrations. Probably, these 861 students

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[303] VUA, 90.064V, Box 3, File 19, "Director of Physical Education, Reports Re: Women's Use of the Gymnasium, 1905-1913," 1905, Winter 1909, 1910, 14 November 1912; and VUA, 90.064, Volume 1, "Minute Book, Committee of Management of Annesley Hall, January 1905," 15 February 1907, and 8 April 1909.

[304] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, January 12, 1920, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

were registered at the Extension on Yonge and McGill, or were members of the Eatons Girls' Club. For the 1920-21 school year, it is probably more precise to report enrolment as follows: there were 35 full-time students of which four would graduate that year; there were 84 students who registered for day, evening and children classes; there were 237 people who were registered as members of the reading clubs; classes were taught for approximately 40 students of the Deaconess Training School; and there were many people taught through the Eatons Girls' Club and other activities, such as swimming, at the Yonge and McGill Street Extension Building.

MES's lack of residences for its students deterred some prospective students. As early as 1908 there were reports of mothers inquiring about MES for the daughters, and asking about the school's "instruction and residence life."[305] That same year the calendar noted in small type in an obscure place, "The School of Expression is non-residential, but our students are provided with homes approved by the Principal and Faculty."[306] This note was deleted in subsequent calendars.

The Annual Report of Annesley Hall, for the 1906-1907 school year noted that three residents there attended other schools. Any of these could have been Margaret Eaton students;[307] in 1909, it was noted that at least "one attends the School of

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[305] Report by Emma Scott Raff, 2.

[306] Calendar 1908-1909, 18.

[307] "Annual Report May 1906-April 1907," from Margaret Addison, VUA, 87221V, "Victoria University Senate, Annesley Hall (1906-1923)," 2.

Expression."[308]

By 1911, Scott Raff reported to the Board of Directors that there was growing interest in the school, and that she was receiving letters of inquiry coming from Canada and as far away as India. These out-of-town letters all asked "[c]an I place my daughter in a residence connected with your school?" Unfortunately the school could not help.[309] Again in 1913, Scott Raff argued that "Miss Thrall [School secretary] has in her keeping dozens of letters that have come this year about this very subject. Students wanting training with us, go to the Conservatory and other schools that have residences."[310]

In 1914, Scott Raff reported that a "movement is on foot and several hundred dollars subscribed towards a Residence Fund, if the directors will favor such a scheme, the Alma Mater will take full responsibility."[311] Concrete steps were then taken to assist out of town students. The 1914 Calendar stated: "Our School is non-residential, but this year provision is being made for our out-of-town students to live together in a residence under the supervision of a Dean appointed by the Committee of Residence Directors."[312] The exact nature of these arrangements is not

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[308] "Report of Annesley and South Halls 1909-1910, March 10, 1910," VUA, Box 9/132, "Correspondence re: Victoria College and Women's Residence (1902-1912)," 1.

[309] Report from Emma Scott Raff, 3.

[310] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, October 1913, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)." "My right-hand girls is away from school sick in bed this week and I am lost without her, Miss Thrall I mean," written in UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," 30 November 1912.

[311] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, October 1914, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[312] Calendar 1914-1915, 11.

known. It was not until the Fall of 1919 that an "official residence" was provided.

In January 1920, Scott Raff reported on the acquisition, in September 1919, of a house at 39 Dundonald Street, for use as a student residence. The Eaton Company arranged renovations and provided the furnishings. A cook, a housekeeper, and a head of the house were hired and students began to move in. Since the residence acquisition came somewhat late, there were extra rooms available, and Phyllis Strathy, and Mary Hamilton and her two sisters also moved in. The assumption was that the residence would be self-financing.[313] The purchase price was $14,750, and owned by Mrs. M. Eaton. To keep from paying taxes it was described as a building "being used for educational purposes."[314]

In the Fall of 1920 Nasmith reported to the Directors that the students, coming from across Canada, filled the residence.[315] The 1920[316] and subsequent calendars, drew attention to these accommodations.[317] For the 1921-22 school year 17 students lived

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[313] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, January 12, 1920, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[314] J. Elliot to R.Y. Eaton, January 12, 1920, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924)."

[315] Report from Emma Scott Nasmith to The Directors of The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, [Fall 1920], AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924)."

[316] Calendar 1920-1921, 8.

[317] Calendar 1921-1922; to Calendar 1924-1925, 8; and Calendar 1925-1926: Physical Education, 5.

in the residence for $12.00 a week.[318] Several years later, Gate House, No. 1177 Bay Street, was established as a second residence, "[u]nder the supervision of the House Mother, Mrs. Pattie, this additional residence proved most successful. Gate House stood directly opposite the School building and boasted of a grass tennis court."[319]

In addition to course work and residential life, students also participated in a variety of clubs. These clubs began early in the School's history. One of the first was the Shakespeare Club. This met every Monday morning in the Principal's studio. The plays studied during 1908-09 consisted of: Hamlet, Othello, Macbeth, Henry VIII, Twelfth Night, Winter's Tale, As You Like It.[320] This Club was short lived and by 1909 became a regular class.[321]

The longest running club was the Literary and Reading Club. In 1908 this club met two afternoons a month and involved "Reading of classics by the Principal, Teachers and Senior students of the School."[322] The purpose of this Club, as announced in 1916, was to "get into sympathetic touch with the great literary authors of our own times, who are influencing the

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[318] Residence Report in "The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression - Year 1921-1922," AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Balance Sheets and Annual Statements (1921-1941)."

[319] Jackson, 18.

[320] Calendar 1908-1909, 18.

[321] Calendar 1909-1910, 16.

[322] Calendar 1908-1909, 18; and Advertisement, Globe, (21 November 1908): 5; and "To-day's Events," Globe, (3 December 1908): 14; and Advertisement, Saturday Night (31 October 1908): 15. The meeting times changed a few times, see: Calendar 1912-1913, 28; and Calendar 1920-1921, 21.

thought of the civilized world; and also with minor literary movements of distinction and charm."[323] Charlotte Ross directed this Club from 1909 to 1926. The subject for the year 1909-1910 "will be the revival of Irish learning, with special reference to the works of its leaders, Lady Gregory, W.B. Yeats, J.M. Synge and G. Russell."[324] The inclusion of Synge was considered very controversial at the time. When Synge's "Playboy of the Western World," was first produced in Dublin, the newspaper noted that the production aroused "great excitement and riots," and that the "audiences were protected by an army of stalwart police on their way to and from the entrance of the theatre." Permitting Ross to give the first public reading in Toronto of this work was appreciated by the Globe and to show considerable courage on the part of Scott Raff.[325]

The subject of study changed annually as follows: 1909-1910, "The Irish People and Their Literature;"[326] 1910-1911, "Folk Lore and its influence on certain contemporary authors, with special study of Fiona McLeod, of Theodore Watts-Dunton, and Algernon Charles Swinburne,"[327] this was supplemented with "five lectures

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[323] Calendar 1916-1917, 18-19.

[324] Calendar 1909-1910, 16; and Advertisements, Globe, (26 December 1908): 11; and (2 January 1909): 8; and Advertisement, Saturday Night (16 October 1909): 15.

[325] "Playboy of the Western World," Globe (23 January 1911): 5; Dora Mavor Moore who acted in the 1911 production helped produce in thirty-five years later--"A non-profit but professional group, the NPS [New Play Society in Toronto--formed by Dora Mavor Moore] opened in October 1946 in the Royal Ontario Museum Theatre with a production of John Millington Synge's `The Playboy of the Western World.'" Eugene Benson and L.W. Conolly, English-Canadian Theatre, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1987), 45.

[326] Advertisement, Globe (16 October 1909): 4.

[327] Calendar 1910-1911, 14.

on the Arthurian Legends, beginning January 11;"[328] 1912-1913, "the plays of Hendrik Ibsen;"[329] 1913-1914, "the works of Maurice Maeterlinck;"[330] for the two years 1914-1916, Bernard Shaw,[331] and Ibsen;[332] for the two years 1916-1918, Count Lyof N. Tolstoi;[333] for the two years 1918 and 1919, the program was not listed;[334] 1920-1921, once again "the works of Maurice Maeterlinck with special stress on recent publications;" 1921-1922, John Galsworthy;[335] 1922-1923 they returned to Bernard Shaw;[336] 1923, Thomas Hardy;[337] and for the last two years, 1924-1926, the works of Joseph Conrad.[338] Following the 1926 Calendars there is no mention of this club. It likely stopped as a result of the School limiting its instruction to a program in Physical Education, and because of Ross' resignation from the School.

A description of the Discussion Club first appears in the calendar in 1919. This Club met every Wednesday morning in the

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[328] Advertisement, Globe (17 December 1910): 17.

[329] Calendar 1912-1913, 28; and advertisement, Globe (19 October 1912): 5.

[330] Calendar 1913-1914, 16.

[331] Calendar 1914-1915, 16; and Calendar 1915-1916. 17.

[332] Advertisement, Globe (3 October 1917): 10.

[333] Calendar 1916-1917; and Calendar 1917-1918, 18-19.

[334] Calendar 1918-1919, 28; and Calendar 1919-1920, 25.

[335] Calendar 1921-1922, 20.

[336] Calendar 1922-1923, 20.

[337] Calendar 1923-1924, 18.

[338] Calendar 1924-1925, 17; Calendar 1925-1926, 8; and UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 3, "Margaret Eaton School Reading Club for the Study of Contemporary Authors - 1925-1926."

Principal's Studio, for "formal debates, informal discussions and oratorical contests."[339] This club continued to meet on this basis till 1925,[340] with only a change in meeting time in 1921,[341] and 1923.[342] One member of this club noted:

> The Club is re-organized at the beginning of each year in order to show our members the correct methods of club organization.... We fight out all manner of questions. Some days we are debating as to whether or not a professional woman should continue her career after marriage, and that is a real war, I can assure you, whereas the following Tuesday we may have calmed down sufficiently to discuss `The Value of an Objective,' or `Chinese Art...' hostilities in Ireland.... German admittance to the League of Nations.... Most of the members have improved tremendously during the year. The formal informality of our Club helps us. The formality show us how it should be done. The informality give us confidence.[343]

One activity of this club was to produce a monthly paper, entitled Mesolae, the abbreviations for the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression. This paper was issued on the first Tuesday of each month. In 1921, the writing of club members was reproduced in a larger version. The production of such a magazine was intended to "serve as a memento of our school life, of the `old familiar faces,' of certain outstanding events, and of various characteristics and spontaneous witticisms, in prose and verse of our fellow students." It was hoped "that the future may lead to greater and higher standards for our infant literary

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339 Calendar 1919-1920, 19.

340 Calendar 1920-1921; to Calendar 1924-1925, 17 & 20.

341 Alice Gates, "Editorial," Mesolae, 1921, 15.

342 Calendar 1923-1924, 18.

343 Lois Howard, "What is The Discussion Club?" Mesolae, 1921, 16-17.

production, `Mesolae.'"[344] Unfortunately, the 1921 version appears to have been the only one that has survived, or perhaps the only one ever produced. A graduate of the class of '27 indicated that she had never heard of this journal, and expected "it probably stopped when the school switched to Physical Education."[345] The Discussion Club is not mentioned in calendars after 1924. It probably ceased after Nasmith's resignation in September, 1924.

The school also sponsored student recitals. For example, the school had barely opened a month when Margaret Eaton got into the act. She and Scott Raff were hostesses of the opening evening of the Shakespeare Club by performing portions of the second and fourth acts of Henry VIII; it is not surprising that Margaret Eaton acted the part of Queen. The Globe described the performance as

> very attractive.... Mrs. Eaton, as the Queen, was dignified and intense in her repudiation of Wolsey. Mrs. Hincks gave a striking portrayal of Wolsey, and the role of the King was portrayed with much sincerity by Mrs. J.A. Walker. The remainder of the cast consisted of Mrs. Knox, Mrs. McCoy, Mrs. Robertson and Miss Phelp. After the recital the audience adjourned to Mrs. Scott Raff's studio for coffee. The assemblage was large and fashionable.[346]

Furthermore, the students of the School presented "Twelfth Night," 1908,[347] and at least two other times.[348]

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[344] Alice Gates, "Editorial," Mesolae, 1921, 15.

[345] Interview with Lillian Thomson Armstrong, July 10, 1991.

[346] "Music and Drama," Globe (26 February 1907): 16.

[347] Advertisement, Globe, (18 April 1908): 4; and "To-day's Events," Globe, (23 April 1908): 8.

[348] "The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, Year Ending May 31, 1911," AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Financial Statements (1906-1913);" "`Twelfth Night' Well Played," Globe (10 April

Before Christmas in 1910, students of MES assisted Scott Raff in presenting a Greek drama.[349] Two weeks later, the students put on an evening of comedies before a "large audience."[350] A year later they repeated this program,[351] and replayed portions of it for the St. George Branch of the Anglican Young People's Association.[352]

MES organized a Shakespearean Festival in 1911 and 1912,[353] in which the students performed "A Midsummer Night's Dream," which included over 40 children,[354] as well as "Elizabethan Revels, Including Folk Songs and Dances."[355] The Revels were organized by Hamilton and the "dances were given with abandon by a number of young lady students."[356] One of the few fall productions took place in 1915. They produced Graham Robertson's

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1922): x17; and "Twelfth Night, April 8, 1922, Metro Toronto Library--Theatre Department, "Margaret Eaton School."

[349] "Mrs. Scott Raff's Recital," Globe (5 December 1910): 9; and UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 1a, "Margaret Eaton School, Interpretive Recital, 1910."

[350] "Comedies by Students," Globe (17 December 1910): 10.

[351] Advertisements, Globe, 1911: (6 May): 3; (13 May): 3; and (20 May): 5.

[352] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 1a, "Margaret Eaton School (D.D.M. as Student) - 1911-1912 Programmes."

[353] Advertisements, Globe (12, 19, and 26 April 1913): 10; "Shakespearean Festival," Globe (24 April 1913): 5; and "Elizabethan Revels," Globe (15 April 1913): 5.

[354] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 1a, "Margaret Eaton School - 1910-1911 - Midsummer Night's Dream Photograph."

[355] Advertisements, Globe (13 and 20 April 1912): 11; and (25 April): 8; UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 1a, "Margaret Eaton School (D.D.M. as Student) - 1911-1912 Programmes."

[356] E.R. Parkhurst, "Elizabethan Revels," Globe (25 April 1912): 8.

play, "Pinkie and the Fairies." This "delicate satire on the lives of grown-ups," was reported to have been "delightfully performed... [by] 40 characters, fairies and birds and beasts."[357]

These and other plays were performed by the students.[358] From time to time when male actors were necessary, females either played the part, or, beginning in 1919, Victoria College would provide some willing males.[359] Dora Mavor Moore ('11) directed a number of the plays.[360]

The School also involved itself in the war effort, from 1914 to 1918. The 1916 Calendar described the efforts as follows:

> In view of the seriousness of the crises through which the world is passing, it has been deemed advisable to devote a portion of the School time and activity to patriotic work. Last year Friday afternoon was set apart for this purpose and as a consequence, the School was able to make liberal donations of hospital supplies and knitted articles.
>
> It is proposed to continue this work during the coming year. At four o'clock Readings will be given by the members of the Faculty and students, while the knitting is continued, and at five o'clock tea will be served.
>
> Course tickets for these Readings at $1.00 may be obtained at the office, and a nominal charge will be

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[357] "Pinkie and the Fairies," Globe (1 November 1915): 8; advertisements, Globe (30 October 1915): 12; and (1 November 1915): 8.

[358] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, October 1913, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924);" and UT-RBC: Dora Mavor Moore Collection, 207--Box 1a, "Margaret Eaton School (D.D.M. as Student)--Photographs;" and Programme, November 29, 1922, Metro Toronto Library - Theatre Department, "Margaret Eaton School."

[359] Report from Emma Scott Nasmith to The Directors of The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, [Fall 1919], AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924)."

[360] Ibid.; "`Twelfth Night' Well Played," Globe (10 April 1922): x17; "Twelfth Night, April 8, 1922, Metro Toronto Library--Theatre Department; "Margaret Eaton School."Announcements, Globe (2 April 1925): 12; and "Social Events," Globe (3 April 1925): 12.

> made for tea. The resulting funds will be applied to the purchase of wool and other materials. All interested are cordially invited to assist.[361]

In addition, in 1916 Mary Hamilton, Director of Physical Education at MES, arranged a Patriotic Fete at Mutual Arena, in Toronto. The objectives were to provide an opportunity for students to give an exhibition of their work, and to raise funds for Canadian prisoners of war. Four hundred and fifty students participated, coming from MES, Bishop Strachan and Branksome Hall; Mary Hamilton also taught at those two private schools. The event raised $1190.00, and Mrs. Eaton donated an additional $500.[362] These Fetes were continued for at least three years and raised more than $4,000.[363] The 1919 Calendar included a photograph of part of the Fete, with students forming the words, "FOR KING + COUNTRY."[364]

These programs of mercy were continued in smaller ways after the war. For instance, one reads that "The Children's Dramatic Class of The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, under the direction of Helen McFetridge, will perform Snow White, The Visitors, and Arcady.... In aid of fund for French Orphans."[365]

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[361] Calendar 1916-1917, 23; Calendar 1917-1918, 23; Calendar 1918-1919, 26; and Jackson, 16.

[362] Calendar 1916-1917, 23-24.

[363] Calendar 1917-1918, 23; "Graduation Day at Margaret Eaton," Globe (24 May 1917): 4; and Calendar 1918-1919, 26.

[364] Calendar 1919-1920, 23. It is not clear if this photograph was taken at the 1917 or 1918 Fetes, or whether one was also offered in May of 1919.

[365] Programme, "The Children's Dramatic Class of The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression," AO-EC, Series 162, Box 24, Education--Margaret Eaton School--Press Clippings, (1925-1960).

The 1916 to 1917 Calendars indicated that students also held classes in physical training and story telling in various Settlement houses in Toronto. Aside from the benefits of a teaching experience, it was also noted that one of the objectives was that "this contact with the less fortunate members of the community should awaken in the rising generation a sense of sympathy, and of social responsibility."[366] With MES's well-to-do students, there may have been wisdom to this experience. Another such opportunity arose when an influenza epidemic broke out in Toronto, in the fall of 1918. Lectures were stopped for two weeks, and the school became a soup kitchen, with Scott Raff and several students busy preparing and serving soup.[367]

C. Commencement Exercises

The commencement exercises typically included demonstrations of student work and a final evening, or at times a Saturday afternoon, graduation exercise. The following schedule of commencement exercises for 1911 is standard:

> Thursday evening, May 18th, Students' Recital.
> Friday evening, May 19th, Physical Education.
> Saturday evening, May 20th, Dramatic Art.
> Monday evening, May 22nd, Graduating Exercises.[368]

The culminating demonstrations and recitals, gave students the opportunity to display their skills, usually under the direction

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[366] Calendar 1916-1917; and Calendar 1917-1918, 24.

[367] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, November 4, 1918, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[368] Advertisement, Globe, (20 May 1911): 5; "To-day's Events," Globe, (19 May 1911): 8; and (22 May 1911): 8.

of the faculty, and under the appreciative eyes of many family members, friends, alumnae, and newspaper reporters.[369] Since the intention of these demonstrations was to show the work of as many students as possible, the plays selected, such as "Twelfth Night," accommodated twenty to thirty actors.

The 1911 student recital took place in the Margaret Eaton Hall, and

> was filled with appreciative audience. Miss Dora Mavor recited the heroic story of Katharine Douglas' self sacrifice; Miss Cora Gould read two selections from the works of Zona Gale; Miss Olive Hendershott rendered Godard's Espagnole, and Miss Ida Modeland gave two readings from the works of Browning. All met with a most enthusiastic reception. A delightful series of recitations were given by Miss Helen McFetridge. Two scenes were enacted, one from "As You Like It," and the other from "A Wonderful Rose."[370]

During the week preceding the 1912 Commencement, the school held open classes rather than holding a recital.[371] The 1915 graduation was preceded by demonstrations in physical education and drama.[372] The physical education session was organized by Hamilton, and described as follows:

> The grand march, when the girls sang "We'll Never Let the Old Flag Fall," marching tactics, dumb-bell and "sports" were particularly good. Besides the Greek and country dances, Miss Mildred Marsh gave a solo dance number, "Summer." The clever formation of "M. E. S." and the National Anthem completed a delightful evening.[373]

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[369] "Margaret Eaton School Closing," Globe (23 May 1912): 8; "Social Events," Globe (15 June 1923): 16x; and "Exercises of Girls Cleverly Performed," Mail and Empire (23 May 1925): 10.

[370] "A Student Recital," Globe (19 May 1911): 8; and UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 1a, "Margaret Eaton School (D.D.M. as Student) - commencement 1911."

[371] "Margaret Eaton School Closing," Globe (23 May 1912): 8.

[372] Advertisement, Saturday Night (29 May 1915): 6.

[373] "Commencement at Margaret Eaton," Globe (22 May 1915): 10.

For the drama session, the students present "As You Like It."[374] Twelfth Night was performed two days prior to the 1918 commencement.[375] The 1919 graduation was preceded by a physical training demonstration on Monday evening and the presentation of "Pippa Passes," and "As You Like It."[376] In 1920, "a program of sports" was held and a matinee recital. The recital was held at the Royal Alexander Theatre and consisted of three numbers. The first was a presentation by children from the children's classes, called "in Arcady." The junior class performed "The Taming of the Shrew." The final number was a performance of a play written by Scott Raff, entitled "The Message."[377]

The 1921 commencement exercises also included a demonstration and "annual luncheon given by the Alumnae." Two days prior to commencement the students presented "Mid-summer Night's Dream" at the Royal Alexandra Theatre.[378] The demonstration of physical education was given that same evening in the Central Y.M.C.A. Mary Hamilton directed the program which "included marches, drill and dances by senior and junior students."[379]

Prior to the 1922 graduation, the students performed the

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[374] "Dramatic Art at the Margaret Eaton," Globe (26 May 1915): 8.

[375] "Margaret Eaton School Commencement," Globe (24 May 1918): 4.

[376] "Diplomas at Eaton School," Globe (2 June 1919): 10.

[377] "School Closes With Brilliant Entertainment," Globe (10 June 1920): 10.

[378] "Social Events," Globe (9 June 1921): 14x.

[379] "Social Events," Globe (11 June 1921): 18x.

"charming play" entitled "Piper," based on a Browning poem.[380] Dora Mavor Moore produced the play,[381] and it "made a distinct impression on the large audience in attendance."[382] A large cast included most of the full-time students.[383] In addition there were also several readings from Shakespeare.[384]

The annual theatre day for 1923 was also well received. The first part of the program was devoted entirely to sixteenth and seventeenth century songs and dances, and second part to "The Countess Kathleen," a characteristic Yeats piece. The slight critique of Dora Mavor's "unvarying tonal pitch," is the only critical remark of any of MES's demonstrations.[385]

In 1924, a garden fete, given by the MES undergraduates, was held at the residence of R.Y. Eaton.[386] The event was "impressive and enjoyable," and consisted of a variety of dances and plays for the five hundred guests.[387] The 1925 physical education demonstration was held at the Y.M.C.A. and included marching, Swedish gymnastics, wand exercises, club swinging, games, fencing

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[380] "Announcements," Globe (9 June 1922): 16x.

[381] "Social Events," Globe (12 June 1922): 15x; and "The Piper," Metro Toronto Library - Theatre Department, "Margaret Eaton School."

[382] "Recalls Days of Childhood," Globe (10 June 1922): x21.

[383] Ibid.

[384] "Fine Program By Students," Globe (3 June 1922): 21x.

[385] "Eaton School Players do Meritorious Work," Globe (6 June 1923): 19x; and "Social Events," Globe (15 June 1923): 16x; and "Annual Theatre Day Royal Alexandra Theatre, June 14th, 1923," Metro Toronto Library - Theatre Department, "Margaret Eaton School."

[386] "Garden Fete, June 14, 1924," Metro Toronto Library - Theatre Department, "Margaret Eaton School."

[387] "Social Events," Globe (16 June 1924): 14x; and "Society," Mail and Empire (21 June 1924): 31.

and folk and modern dancing.[388]

The actual graduation program usually consisted of an opening prayer and address by a minister, and a speech by a minister, professor, usually from Victoria College or the University of Toronto,[389] and in one case the Lieutenant Governor.[390] This was followed by a principal's report, presentations by award winning students,[391] and the awarding of awards and diplomas. Aside from the principal and students, all the speakers were male. These ceremonies were well attended.[392] Typically the speeches were humanistic, emphasizing the establishment of goals, striving towards these goals with a firm character, and helping make the world a better place. The first record of an Alumnae luncheon on graduation day for the graduates, was in 1920[393], a tradition continued in subsequent years.[394] In order to graduate a student needed at least a fifty per cent mark in all subjects and an average of at least sixty per cent. To graduate with honours, a student needed seventy-

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[388] "Exercises of Girls Cleverly Performed," Mail and Empire (23 May 1925): 10.

[389] "To-day's Events," Globe, (27 May 1913): 8; "Commencement Exercises at Margaret Eaton School," Globe (29 May 1915): 10; and Advertisement, Saturday Night (29 May 1915): 6.

[390] Advertisement, Globe, (20 May 1911): 5; "To-day's Events," Globe, (19 May 1911): 8; and (22 May 1911): 8.

[391] "Margaret Eaton School Closing," Globe (23 May 1912): 8.

[392] "Margaret Eaton School Closing," Globe (23 May 1912): 8; "Social Events," Globe (24 May 1917): 4; "Social Events," Globe (24 May 1918): 4; and "Social Events," Globe (16 June 1923): 19x.

[393] "Social Events," Globe (10 June 1920): 10.

[394] "Social Events," Globe (13 June 1921): 12x; and "News of Women's Organizations," Globe, (29 May 1926): 17.

five per cent in all subjects.[395]

Up until World War I, the addresses tended to further expound on the importance of the school's curriculum. For example in 1910 Rev. Dr. F. Tracy spoke on "Interpretation, the True Expression," and Rev. Dr. Thomas Eakin's address was on "Art and Religion."[396]

In 1911 Chancellor Burwash made the opening address, Scott Raff read a paper on "Threefold Education: Mental, Moral and Physical."[397] Professor James Mavor (father of Dora Mavor) addressed the 1912 graduates, on the history of culture from the time of Bacon.[398]

Following the beginning of the war, graduation addresses focused more on the role of the student. For example, in 1916 Burwash reviewed the history of MES and then "drew special attention to the perfecting of the physical and spiritual life of the pupils, and the great importance of this in regard to the present as well as the future life, which should be rich in the joy of living, developing into the full perfection of life eternal." Smythe gave an address on womanhood. He argued:

> In the woman's age that is coming much is expected from the wider influence women will exert on public thought. We must learn to rejoice in death as in birth, that we may be born again and born better.

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[395] Calendar 1910-1911; to Calendar 1915-1916, 21-23; and Calendar 1925-1926: Physical Education, 9.

[396] "Social Events," Globe (30 May 1910): 9; and Advertisement, Globe, (28 May 1921): 21.

[397] "Prizes Are Awarded by Lieut.-Governor," Globe (23 May 1911), 8; and UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 1a, "Margaret Eaton School (D.D.M. as Student) - commencement 1911."

[398] "Margaret Eaton School Closing," Globe (23 May 1912): 8; UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 1a, "Margaret Eaton School (D.D.M. as Student)--commencement 1912."

> When women were enfranchised they would consider a seat in Parliament as their chief goal. We must learn that the kingdom of heaven is within ourselves, and women had never lost sight of this fact, as had men.[399]

Rev. Professor Michael, reminded the 1917 graduates, "life required first an ideal and then an effort to reach that ideal."[400] George Nasmith, newly married to Scott Raff, stated in his address:

> the woman who is receiving her education today is fortunate, for she is living in a period when the old order of things is passing away and a new era is at hand.... Today is the day when the idea of public service reigns in the hearts of thinking people, and when men and women will tolerate and follow only those whom they know are true to the best interests and ideals of the nation.... It is your privilege to serve.[401]

Furthermore, he argued:

> The advancement of women in the world has been rapid in recent years,.... New obligations have presented themselves. In Ontario women have been given the franchise, and there are many problems to become familiar with.... He advised the women to vote for principle instead of party. If this is done, politics will be revolutionized in ten years.[402]

As Kidd noted, in a recent paper, it was "not only feminists like Nellie McClung and Emily Murphy who prophesied a brighter future." Based on Nasmith's 1917 speech, Kidd argues that Nasmith also "held to them [women] the prospect of distinguished

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[399] "Woman's High Place in the Coming Era," Globe (23 May 1916): 4; and "Social Events," Globe (23 May 1916): 4.

[400] "Graduation Day at Margaret Eaton," Globe (24 May 1917): 4; "Social Events," Globe (24 May 1917): 4; and Advertisements, Globe, 1917: (5 May): 12; (12 May): 5; (19 & 24 May): 4.

[401] Col. Nasmith, "A Word to Students," Calendar 1917-1918, 25.

[402] "Big Change in World as Result of the War," Globe (24 May 1917): 9.

careers in public service."[403]

In 1918 Capt. Paulin of Rosedale Presbyterian Church gave an address on "Some Phases of the War." In a condescending manner he emphasized the "noble part played by women in this conflict, and urged the duty of `regarding cheerfulness as a task.'"[404]

Following the war there was a balance between personal responsibility and the importance of the school's curriculum. Dr. Hutton provided what could be considered a critical address for the 1919 graduation, especially when one considers MES's affinity to the ancient Greeks. His talk was entitled, "Some Artificial Substitutes for Christianity." In his speech he considered classical scholarship to be "the best substitute for Christianity that he had seen.... classical scholarship was only an artificial and inadequate substitute, for neither Plato nor Aristotle had anything to offer the man in the street. They appealed to the aristocracy of intellect only."[405]

In 1920, Rev. Canon Plumtre emphasized, that graduates of the school should pursue the "reformation of manners... by the force of example." Furthermore, he "urged the students to follow the advice of Sir William Osler and devote one half hour a day at least to the reading of good standard writers."[406] Mrs. Nasmith

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[403] Bruce Kidd, "`Girls Sports Run by Girls': The Women's Amateur Athletic Federation of Canada 1925-1941," paper for the North American Society for Sport History, Loyola University, Chicago, May 24-27, 1991, p. 1.

[404] "Margaret Eaton School Commencement," Globe (24 May 1918): 4; "Social Events," Globe (24 May 1918): 4; and Emma Scott Raff to Mrs. Burwash, May 20, 1911, VUA, Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash, Box 9, File 135, "The Margaret Eaton School."

[405] "Diplomas at Eaton School," Globe (2 June 1919): 10.

[406] "School Closes With Brilliant Entertainment," Globe (10 June 1920): 10.

in a few farewell words dwelt on the thought that "success is easier to attain than failure and that one's only real enemy is one self."[407]

The 1922 graduation was the largest in the history of the school up to that time. Twenty of the graduates were "qualified to teach," with 12 specializing in physical education, seven in voice culture and literary and dramatic art, and one in dramatic art.[408]

The 1924 commencement also attracted "a large number of relatives and friends," one of whom was the great Canadian sportsman Lionel Conacher, who had eloped one year earlier to Dorothy Kennedy ('24).[409] "An interesting address," was given by Dr. Trevor Davies.[410]

The 1925 address, delivered by Reverend C. A. Seager, M.A., D.D., L.L.D., Provost of Trinity College, spoke on the "wonderful vistas which were to be found in the realms of literature and expression, as experienced through the vibrant cord of human personality."[411]

The final graduation for this period, in 1926, was the first time the Physical Education Department held its own commencement

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[407] Ibid.; "Announcements," Globe (9 June 1920): 10; and Advertisement, Saturday Night (29 May 1920): 6.

[408] "Fine Program By Students," Globe (3 June 1922): 21x.

[409] He was a multi-sport hero and selected by Canadian sportswriters as the greatest male athlete from 1900-1950. See Frank Cosentino and Don Morrow, Lionel Conacher, (Don Mills, Ontario: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1981).

[410] "Social Events," Globe (18 June 1924): 15.

[411] "Hold Last Gathering In The Old Building," Mail and Empire (12 June 1925); "Social Events," Globe (12 June 1925): 17; and UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 3, "Margaret Eaton School (D.M.M. as teacher) - Commencement 1924-1925."

exercises, and presented diplomas and certificates to twelve graduates. Rev. D. Bruce MacDonald, M.A., LL.D., gave advice on keeping satisfactory and happy relations with others. Charlotte Ross noted that "Physical education is filling a very urgent need in our educational system," and warned--all the more important since the school was going to focus exclusively on physical education--"against narrowness."[412]

D. Alumnae

In the "Spring of 1913... an Alumnae group... formed... alumnae colours are gold and white and that our flower is the daisy."[413] Jackson wrote:

> Seventeen members and three guests attended the inaugural luncheon.... The group held a luncheon meeting, once a month, in the Principal's office. This provided a memorable link between the undergraduates and the graduates, or on these occasions, coffee percolating for the guests during the last period of the morning, invariably proved a disturbing element to the students."[414]

In a report it was noted:

> student graduates numbering twenty-five from our own and adjoining cities sat down and afterwards formed a society called the Alumnae of The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression,--their aim to keep in touch with each other, further the interests

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[412] "School Graduates Urged to Maintain Spirit of Youth," Globe, (29 May 1926): 17; and Mrs. Scott Raff, "Invitation to Commencements Exercises," AO-EC, Series 162, Box 24, "Education--Margaret Eaton School--Press Clippings (1925-1960)."

[413] Helen Parsons, "Brief Notes on the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression and the Margaret Eaton School," The-News-of-the-School IX, No. 3 (March 1942): 2.

[414] Jackson, 11.

of the school and to meet at least once a year.[415] That they met monthly says something of the school and principal's magnetism. That they could meet at lunch time would suggest the alumnae were either not employed or had positions where they had some control over their working hours. The following year, Scott Raff reported the Alumnae interest in assisting in the development of residence.[416] Unfortunately, for Scott Raff, nothing came of this.

The Oracle, published May 29, 1914, was the first journal of the Alumnae Association. The opening comments, written by the Editor, Grace Macartney, are perhaps all too common for these type of publications:

> The Editor was not only surprised but also grieved, to find her fellow-members of the Alumnae Association of so retiring or perverse a nature. It had been expected that the desk would be a-litter with manuscripts long before the date set for the luncheon. But, Behold! Not a line, not a word, reached the office until postal reminders had been sent out.'"[417]

Once again, a 1927 graduate did not know anything of this journal and expected that it too had died with the School of Expression.[418] No copy of The Oracle has been located.

During the war, the alumnae also raised funds for the war effort, and in particular funds for French orphans; which they continued even when the war was over. They also joined MES faculty and students each Christmas in providing Christmas

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[415] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, October 1913, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[416] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, October 1914, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[417] The Oracle as quoted by Dorothy Jackson, 11.

[418] Lillian Thomson interview.

baskets, clothing, sports equipment and toys for various families in Toronto.[419]

Of the graduating classes, Jackson notes that the class of "Twenty-two" had become relatively famous among the many groups of graduates. In 1953, thirty-one years after their graduation, they still met informally and for annual re-unions.[420]

One opportunity for MES alumnae to continue acting was to become involved in the Associate Players. This group consisted primarily of students and graduates of MES. Its main function was to provide an opportunity for actors to perform. It was first reported on in 1909 when three Irish plays were presented in the "Greek Theatre."[421]

For the 1910 Earl Grey Competition, the Associate Players performed "She Stoops to Conquer," and came in fourth out of nine entries.[422] In 1911, they again performed a series of Irish plays,[423] and "She Stoops to Conquer," which they planned to use for their upcoming presentation at the Earl Grey Competition to be held in Winnipeg.[424] That year they also produced a "Comedy of

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[419] Jackson, 12.

[420] Ibid., 19.

[421] "Social Events," Globe, (15 May 1909): 15; Advertisement, Saturday Night (15 May 1909): 15; and "Music and Drama." Saturday Night (22 May 1909): 14.

[422] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 1a, "The Earl Grey Musical and Drama Competition 1910," pages 152 and 163.

[423] "Irish Drama in Toronto," Globe (6 March 1911): 9; and UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 1a, "Margaret Eaton School--Irish Plays--Drama."

[424] Advertisement, Globe (15 March 1911): 4; and Advertisement, Saturday Night (15 April 1911): 6.

Errors."[425]

The Associate Players also assisted the MES students in their recital prior to the 1920 graduation, by performing Scott Raff's play "The Message."[426] On December 19, 1924 they produced "The Young Person in Pink."[427]

The need for women teachers and leaders increased during this time period, and many MES students filled these positions, particularly in physical training. Since MES did not offer Provincial Teaching Certificates, the graduates played a significant role in the private girls' schools, the Y.W.C.A.s, and non-Ontario public schools.

For example, in 1914 Scott Raff reported to the Board of Directors that "[a]pplications have come to us for teachers for Moosejaw [sic], Regina, Victoria, and Calgary, only one teacher being available--Miss Gould ('11) of Brantford, who left for Moosejaw [sic] much to the regret of her Board and her friends in that city."[428]

In 1915, Scott Raff, argues that the school is progressing and growing, she substantiates this argument by providing a substantial listing of the postings held by MES graduates.

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[425] "The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, Year Ending May 31, 1911," AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Financial Statements (1906-1913);" and UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 1a, "Margaret Eaton School (D.D.M. as Student) - Comedy of Errors;" Box 1a, "Margaret Eaton School (D.D.M. as Student) - playing Kate Hardcastle;" and Box 1a, "Margaret Eaton School (D.D.M. as Student) - Newspaper Clippings."

[426] Advertisement, Saturday Night (29 May 1920): 6; and "School Closes With Brilliant Entertainment," Globe (10 June 1920): 10.

[427] "The Young Person in Pink," Metro Toronto Library - Theatre Department, "Margaret Eaton School;" Lawrence Mason, "Music and Drama," Globe (20 December 1924): 23.

[428] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, October 1914, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

> In our own city we have graduates teaching in the following schools and colleges: Westbourne, Westminster, Glen Mawr, Bishop Strachan, and the new Technical School. In Playground Work, some of our graduates have done excellent work during the last three years. Miss Dowling is in Public School Work, Miss Gawley and Miss De Long have done important work in the Fred Victor Mission, and Miss Carter is in the Public Library. Out-of-town positions are held by Miss Pearl McNeill who is Educational Secretary of the Y.W.C.A. in Moose Jaw, Miss Gould who has charge of the gymnasium and Voice Culture of Mount Royal College in Regina, and Miss Sanderson who is at the head of a Settlement in Montreal.[429]

Beginning in 1916 the Calendars summarized the above by stating that:

> Graduates of our School are meeting with success as:
>
> Teachers of Physical Education.
> Teachers of Expression.
> Public Readers.
> Interpreters of the Drama on the Professional Stage.
> Supervisors of Playgrounds.
> Workers in Settlements.
> Workers in Young Women's Christian Association.[430]

In 1923 the following was added to the above list:

> Teachers of Literature, Dramatic Art and Voice Training.
> Workers in Corrective and Curative Work in Hospitals.
> Teachers for the cure of Stammering, Stuttering and all Defective Speech.[431]

In 1918, according to Scott Raff,

> Our graduates, in Miss Hamilton's department, who have noticeably made good, are the ones that have taken the highest standing in Miss Ross' and other departments of the school. They are all now teaching in Toronto or elsewhere. This year I did not have enough

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[429] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, November 15, 1915, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[430] Calendar 1916-1917; to Calendar 1922-1923, 8-10.

[431] Calendar 1923-1924, 12; and Calendar 1924-1925, 11.

> teachers to supply the demand.[432]

In 1919 it was reported that there

> is a movement on foot to teach Voice Culture, Dramatic Art, and Dancing in the Public Schools of Toronto, and already we have teachers in the Brown School. This work is being done independently, but the School Board are looking for results and will look to us for teachers, if they approve. Annette School has also made a plea for teachers.... The Robert Simpson Co. want a story-teller for the Christmas season beginning now. The Canadian National Exhibition also want readers for Welfare Exhibits.[433]

In 1919 it was also written that "every available graduate of this school is busy, receiving satisfactory salaries for their work."[434] In 1920, Scott Raff noted that the school's "influence has been gradually extended and appreciated until we now find ourselves a corporate body whose activities have created respect in all institutions of learning in our own city and elsewhere." She again supports this argument by listing names of graduates who are employed in various institutions, including such institutions as: Moulton College; St. Mildred's College; Macdonald Hall, Guelph; Bishop Bethuene College; and "in the new Hart House Movement we were able to give the manager two students to play the leading roles in `The Queen's Enemies' and the Chester Mystery Plays."[435]

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[432] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, November 4, 1918, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

[433] Report from Emma Scott Nasmith to The Directors of The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, [Fall 1919], AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924)."

[434] Ibid.

[435] Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, January 12, 1920, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)."

Several of the graduates' succeeded in filling positions in physical education. In this respect it is of some interest to follow the lives of six students of this period who were interviewed or who had correspondence with the author. One graduate "attended some classes and then got married," four years later. She remarked, "I didn't even think of working outside the home."[436] The other five actively pursued their careers.

Norah MacLennan ('22) remained single all her life. Following her graduation she taught at Branksome for six years during which she took night courses at the University of Toronto to prepare herself for a career in social work. She then found a position with Children's Aid and remained in the field of Social Work.[437]

Mary Barker ('25) also remained single. She continued to take courses in the field of physical education and worked in that field all her life.[438]

Agnes Moffat ('25), following her graduation from MES continued her studies as one of two women in a class of 125 Medical students at McGill. She married a doctor eight years after graduating from MES, and continued her work as a doctor, specializing in paediatrics, obstetrics and anaesthesia.[439]

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[436] Interview with Lillian Thomson, by the author, July 10, 1991.

[437] Interview with Nora MacLennan, by the author, September 26, 1991.

[438] Correspondence with Mary Barker, to the author, October 9, 1991.

[439] Correspondence and interview with Agnes Moffat, by the author, November 2, 1991, and November 16, 1991; Carlotta Hacker, The Indomitable Lady Doctors, (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1974), 208; and "Agnes K. Moffat," in Leone McGregor Hellstedt, (Editor), Women Physicians of the World, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1978),

Kitty Pepler ('22) first worked for the Y.W.C.A. in St. John, New Brunswick, following her graduation from MES. She was then appointed the first Physical Education Director at the College of Agriculture in Guelph, now the University of Guelph. In about 1928, she went to Calcutta, where she joined the staff of the Y.W.C.A. During her three years there she was employed by the Indian Government to train the "first Ph. Ed. women teachers in that country." From 1931 to 1939 she worked for the Y.W.C.A. in Cairo. She married in 1939, at the age of thirty-eight, seventeen years after her MES graduation. She then moved to England and continued to teach physical education.[440]

Shortly after Elizabeth Pitt graduated from MES, she began a total of 29 years as director of Eaton Company's Shadow Lake Camp. She also worked several years directing Y.W.C.A. programs, and was a close friend of the great sculpturer, R. Tait Mackenzie. She married in 1971, at the age of sixty-six, forty-six years after her graduation from MES.[441]

Though not interviewed three other students deserve some further explanation, Dorothy Scott Raff ('17), Mildred Marsh ('12), and Dora Mavor Moore ('11). Dorothy was the daughter of Scott Raff. She married Robert Fennell and is listed as a member of a small committee which assisted Lady Eaton in bringing British children to Canada during the second world war. Her husband was president of Toronto's Community Chest organization

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270-275).

[440] Correspondence with John Hall--married to Kitty Pepler Hall--to the author, October 15, 1991.

[441] Correspondence with Elizabeth Pitt, to the author, October 31, 1991.

in the fifties.[442] Mildred Marsh continued her education at the Vestoff Verona School of Dancing in New York.[443] She also became one of several students who joined their Alma Mater as an instructor.

Perhaps the school's most noted student is Dora Mavor Moore ('12). She has been referred to as the "Grand Dame of Canadian Theatre," the "primer for Canada's theatrical renaissance."[444] Her father was Professor James Mavor, a Fabian socialist and a noted Political Scientist who founded the Department of Economy at the University of Toronto.[445] He had a special interest in protecting the rights of the Doukhobors who had settled in Western Canada.[446] He was also a personal friend of George Bernard Shaw, and had personal connections with William Yeats and Peter Kropotkin.[447] Dora enroled at the University of Toronto at age sixteen, and after having failed twice, and failing again in her third try,[448] enroled at MES, to the partial disappointment of

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[442] Eaton, Memory's Wall, 176 & 190-191.

[443] "Social Events," Globe (9 June 1921): 14x.

[444] Jean Bannerman, Leading Ladies, (Belleville: Mika Publishing, 1977), 423; "Great Artist Snapped by Telegram," Evening Telegram, (5 March 1923): 9.

[445] Ibid., 423; "Russia Will Live Up to Promise to Poland," Globe (7 October 1914): 6; and "Prof. James Mavor Retires From Chair Held Over 30 Years," Globe (23 May 1923): 13x.

[446] "Note and Comment," Daily Star (6 May 1919): 6; and "Says Doukhobors are Forced From Lands," Daily Star (23 May 1934): 14.

[447] Wolfe claims this friendship with Shaw also comes out in Shaw's Candida where a minister is named James Mavor Morell. Morris Wolfe, "Dora Mavor Moore: Canada's First Lady of the Theatre," Saturday Night (November 1971): 30.

[448] She eventually received an Honorary Doctorate from the University of Toronto in 1970. Morris Wolfe, "Dora Mavor Moore..." 30.

her father.[449] She graduated from MES in 1912, and with a scholarship to enter the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art in London, became the first Canadian to graduate from that institution. Upon Dora's return from London, she toured North America with Ben Greets Company.[450]

Her stay in England and finding acting jobs in North America were not easy years for Mavor. In a series of letters Scott Raff wrote to her, mostly in 1912, Scott Raff tried to help her through her difficulties in a most affectionate, and at times possessive manner. The salutation for Scott Raff's letters used affectionate phrases such as "Darling Dora."[451] Scott Raff would talk of her longing for Dora,[452] and seeing her in her dreams, "but you smiled and kissed me but did not speak. Write me a line for I am faithfully yours. Waiting!!!"[453] She wrote about missing Dora, and wanting to be together.[454] After not hearing from her for awhile, she takes on Christ's image of the good shepherd, writing "If you are on the heights take me out of the depths. I have here my ninety and nine but they are not enough

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[449] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 1a, "Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression - Emma Scott Raff to James Moore."

[450] Bannerman, 423. Her early background and training were described somewhat misleadingly by Bannerman, as follows: "Dora entered university at age sixteen. Later she studied at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art and became the first Canadian actress to play at London's Old Vic--as Viola in Twelfth Night." Unfortunately, Bannerman did not list Dora's failures, or her schooling at MES.

[451] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore."

[452] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," 28 August 1912.

[453] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," 9 September 1912.

[454] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," 2 October 1912; Christmas 1912; and 7 August 1913.

for me for one has wandered away from me. Where is that one?" She fittingly closed the letter with "Faithfully, the Shepherd Emmie."[455] Dorothy was also close to her as indicated in a remark by Scott Raff: "Your adopted sister and devoted little lover is here with me and we are having such a happy time together. Yesterday, for the want of you we went over to see your mother."[456] Indeed they had a special relationship, as Scott Raff noted: "I am glad you were with us and understood. Few there be who can."[457]

Scott Raff also gave Mavor some advice. When working in Ottawa Mavor felt underpaid. Scott Raff's advice was to remember that the money only pays for the "physical... so that the soul can have a chance."[458] Following a visit to Mavor by Topley Thomas, a teacher at MES, Scott Raff recommended that Mavor leave Ottawa because her employees "are not of fine enough fibre to realize you or your work...."[459] Mavor then tried her fortune in New York with Ben Greet and Catharine Proctor. Scott Raff wanted to know how these interviews went and assured Mavor that "we believe `you shall arrive.'"[460] She also reassured her that when

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[455] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," 11 February 1913.

[456] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," 31 March 1913.

[457] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," 15 September 1913.

[458] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," 30 September 1912.

[459] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," 30 September 1912.

[460] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," October 1912.

the going gets tough to "[k]eep a stiff upper lip and you will win out--I know,"[461] and "[e]verything is ahead of you, there is nothing behind you dear but valuable experience. `We are chastened that we may endure.' `Mastery of life' is the true meaning of Education."[462] Finally Scott Raff asks: "Will you come back to us Dora. Remember I want you to follow your Hearts Desire, and my Hearts Desire and prayer to God for Israel (no Dora I mean) is that you do the thing that will mean development for you."[463]

Scott Raff tried to provide words of encouragement as well.[464] In one of her pep talks, she encouraged Mavor to "get all you can out of life. More and more do I believe that we are the result of our own will. So great is our <u>power</u> that no human being has the power to crush or weaken us in any way. <u>We are the result of our own will</u>."[465]

In closing her letters, Scott Raff again and again reminded Mavor of her love. She closed with a variety of statements, such as: "With much love I am thine," "My love is always searching for and always finding you;"[466] One time she closed in a more

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[461] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," 24 October 1912.

[462] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," 31 March 1913.

[463] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," Summer 1913.

[464] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," 22 December 1911; 27 May 1912; 31 July 1912; and 30 September 1912.

[465] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," 27 May 1912.

[466] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," 22 December 1911; 27 May 1912; 30 September 1912; 12 November 1912; 25 April 1913; 22 July 1913; Summer 1913; and 15 September 1913.

possessive manner when she wrote: "I hope all things are well with you. My love is always wrapping you around and you can never get away from the strings that tether you to us, but you would never want to get away."[467] Although Dora, Scott Raff and her daughter all married, one wonders if their affection for each other was not stronger.

Dora Mavor married to Chaplain Francis Moore in 1916, and followed him overseas for the war years. Upon her return she began to devote more time to teaching and directing, than to acting, at MES,[468] Camp Tanamakoon,[469] and elsewhere.[470] Being married to an Anglican minister and devoting time and effort to the vocation of drama, was, to put it mildly, less than usual. In 1946 she established the New Play Society. In the middle 1950's, when the Stratford Shakespearean Festival was initiated, two-thirds of the actors and most of the experts were recruited from Moore's New Play Society. Furthermore, she lectured on theatre[471] and the use of dramatic techniques as therapy in mental

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[467] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Raff, Emma Scott to Dora Moore," January 1913.

[468] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 3, "Early Teaching Notes - Margaret Eaton School," which contains a 30 page manual on Greek movement, plus; "Margaret Eaton - Teaching - 1940;" "Margaret Eaton School Speech Classes;" "Margaret Eaton School - Examination Notes;" "Margaret Eaton School - Marks for 1940-41;" "1940-41 - Margaret Eaton School;" and "Termination of D.M.M. Class 1941."

[469] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 29, "Camp Tanamakoon - Summer 1932;" "Camp Tanamakoon;" and "Camp Tanamakoon - Brochure."

[470] Wolfe, 30.

[471] "Tells of Educational Value of Dramatics," Mail and Empire (14 December 1926): 10; and "Dramatic Instinct Inborn," Mail and Empire (15 January 1927): 11.

hospitals.[472]

In 1967 she received the Canadian Drama Award, and a Centennial Medal in recognition of valuable service to the nation. In 1970 she was awarded the Order of Canada. In June of 1969, she was awarded an honorary Doctor of Fine Arts degree by Western College for Women, in Oxford, Ohio. On November 31, 1971 the mayor of Toronto declared "Dora Mavor Moore Day."[473]

XXIV. Summary

The curriculum was designed to provide "practical usefulness and literary pleasure." It was designed primarily for women of "favoured position," who had graduated from high school but did not "wish to undertake the full burden of University work." The courses in English, Dramatic Art, French, and Physical Education, were arranged "to support and supplement one another." The school was concerned with the whole person--viewed as body, soul, and mind--and through courses offered, school rules, and trips, MES faculty and staff sought to individually develop a cultured woman for "life and the home." In this connection, Shakespeare and his plays, and Browning and his monologues were tools in the process of acculturation. Physical exercise was seen as a way of helping the fortunate wealthy preserve and develop their strength, and consequently their happiness and cheerfulness. One of the concerns was to correct abnormal developments, especially

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[472] Bannerman, 423-425; and "Tribute night for Dora Mavor Moore," Globe and Mail (1 December 1971): 15.

[473] Bannerman, 423-425; and "Tribute night for Dora Mavor Moore," Globe and Mail (1 December 1971): 15.

those resulting from "the artificial life of civilization."[474] On the other hand, the view was held that the poor were unfortunate in this respect, since they could not involve themselves in controlled physical exercise they would inevitably weaken themselves by overdoing physical activity in their daily labour. The extensive part-time programming was most helpful to business women and teachers, in terms of providing an opportunity for continuing education.

The full-time students initially came from prosperous homes in Toronto, and as residences were provided they came from across Canada, and some from even farther abroad. They were politically conservative, and felt that people had control over their own destiny. They were high-school graduates that came to MES for various reasons, reasons which were likely more narrow than the faculty of MES thought desirable. Strong bonds were developed during their studies, bonds that would remain, in several cases, fifty years after their graduation. The graduates were employed in their field during the formative period in the development of both drama and physical education in Canada.

[474] Posse, 11.

Chapter Six:
The Margaret Eaton School (1926-1942)--
A Normal School for Physical Education

XXV. Governance of MES

After Margaret Eaton ended her financial support for the school MES become self-governing. Consequently, the principals, Mary Hamilton, and in 1934, Florence Somers, played an important role in the development of the school, a school strictly for women's physical education. The Board of Directors become non-functional. However, the Eaton Company never relinquished official control. Following a co-operative arrangement between MES and the University of Toronto, begun in 1934, MES amalgamated with the University of Toronto in 1941, when the University began offering the first bachelor's degree in physical education in Canada.

Since the school was to become self-governing and self-financing the Board of Directors was essentially non-existent. However, the board was not legally dismantled till the school closed. Furthermore, the Eaton Company, particularly Robert Eaton the president during the last period of the school's history, still maintained close contact with the school, not only in dealing with official matters described in much of the rest of this chapter, but

also through his presence of some of MES's events.[1]

The members in the Board of Directors appear to have been reduced from eight to seven. Each of the members, except Chancellor R.P. Bowles, had served on the previous board. Three members had died: Timothy Eaton (1907), Chancellor Burwash (1918), Sir John Craig Eaton (1922). Three members had resigned: George G. Nasmith, Emma Scott Nasmith, and Margaret Burwash. A 1934 memo noted that the last Annual Meeting was held, nine years earlier, on December 23, 1925. In fact that was the last meeting until the winding up of the Company in the late 1940's.[2] The memo also lists the directors at the time as: Margaret Eaton, J. Burnside, Lady Eaton, H. McGee, R.Y. Eaton, J.J. Vaughan, J. Elliott and C. Musgrave. It further noted that in March, 1926, Mrs. J.A. Roberts took the place of Mr. Musgrave, and a few days later the Rev. Chancellor R.P. Bowles took Mr. Elliott's place.[3] Chancellor Bowles was Burwash's successor as Chancellor at Victoria University, from 1913 to 1934.[4]

By 1945 the shares were registered as follows: Margaret Wilson Eaton (Estate) 193 shares; one share to R.Y. Eaton, H. McGee, transferred on February 5, 1938 to J.J. Vaughan; J.S. Burnside, no transfer had been executed by her estate; J.J.

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[1] "Many Parts of Canada Contribute to Demonstrations at Margaret Eaton School," Globe and Mail (26 May 1939): 12.

[2] Form from The Companies Information Act, signed by R.Y Eaton on December 9, 1949, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School--Surrender of Charter."

[3] J.A. Livingstone to R.Y. Eaton, February 7, 1934; and memorandum, June 6, 1941, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[4] P. Whitely and M. Tooke, Faculty Members of Victoria University, 1841-1925 (Toronto: Victoria University, 1988).

Vaughan; Jessie A. Roberts, transferred on February 5, 1937 to J.J. Vaughan; and Rev. Chancellor R.P. Bowles, transferred to J.J. Vaughan on February 5, 1937. By 1945, the only living shareholders were R.Y. Eaton, Lady Eaton and J.J. Vaughan. It has also been noted that the individual shareholders did not put up any monies for the shares held by them, and therefore, there was no necessity to reimburse them if the shares are transferred back. Furthermore, the extra shares held by J.J. Vaughan were held in trust and not recorded in the share register since they were transferred following Margaret Eaton's death.[5]

Though MES was expected to be self-governing, the Eaton Company did continue to contribute financially to the school. For example, in 1927, a company memo noted they were "advancing the necessary funds, as in the past, until the fees come in, and assuming the deficit, if any."[6]

The new school crest became the "Discobolus, the Greek discus thrower and symbol of the self-government of the school, with the challenge to carry on."[7] The school continued to meet in the old Y.M.C.A. building, used by MES extension after 1919. It had a small gymnasium complete with three badminton courts, one basketball court, and an apparatus room.[8] Jackson noted that the building had been remodelled about 1925. She made special

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[5] F.W. Murch, July 5, 1945 and A. Foulds to F.W. Murch August 11, 1945, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School--Surrender of Charter."

[6] W.G. Mills to Mr. R.Y. Eaton, May 23, 1927, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development.

[7] Jackson, 25.

[8] "The Eaton Girl's Club--1935-1936," pamphlet, UTA-DPEA, A87-0027/034.

note of the pool's new filtration system and the new theatre, The Margaret Eaton Hall. The new theatre seated 750, in 1953 it would be used by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.[9] It has since been demolished.

Stanley Ryerson, head of the Physical Education Department at the University of Toronto in 1940, provided a detailed description of the building. He noted that the building was owned by the T. Eaton Company, and managed by the Eaton Recreation Department under Ivor Lewis. Since the Eaton Recreation Club used it in the evenings, MES could use the entire building, with the exception of the Margaret Eaton Hall, during the day.[10] MES paid only thirty percent of the electricity, fifty percent of the water, plus its use of telephone, swimming pool attendants, laundry, and insurance, totalling just over $1000. Calendars, noted there were "adequate" classrooms, a well equipped gymnasium, and a swimming "tank" with a filtration system.[11] There was space for field sports at a park, and the University of Toronto skating rink was available during the winter.[12] In 1941 a note about the library and its "wide collection of books" was added.[13]

XXVI. Mission of MES

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[9] Jackson, 22; and "New Quarters for School: Old YMCA building on Yonge Street being Remodelled," Telegram (1925).

[10] E. Stanley Ryerson to The Hon. and Rev. H. J. Cody, on March 21, 1941, pp. 1-2, UTA-DPEA, A82-1134.

[11] Calendar 1926-1927, 4.

[12] Calendar 1932-1933, 5.

[13] Calendar 1940-1941, 3.

After 1925 Elocution and Drama were eliminated from MES's program. A comprehensive two-year Physical Education program was continued, along with a much reduced part-time program. Focusing on physical education, "Beauty and Fitness"[14] became the new motto, the school began to play an increasingly important position in the field of Physical Education.[15]

The school sought to develop capable, up-to-date teachers. The school's stated aim, from 1926 to 1931, was "to make its graduates competent to organize and take charge of every branch of physical training for girls."[16] Or, as was stated in 1932, to prepare the "teacher of physical education who would be acquainted with modern trends in this field."[17] From 1934 to 1938 the school aimed

> to have as its graduates only those who have shown themselves qualified to teach and who will promote in their professional work the highest ideals. Adequately trained teachers are needed in schools and colleges, social centres or settlements, industrial and other organizations such as the Young Women's Christian Association, and summer camps.[18]1

Finally, in 1940: "The course of study aims to give the student a thorough educational background for her life as a teacher in the field of physical and health education. The subjects studied as well as the activities taken combine fundamental knowledge and skill with modern and progressive ideas."[19]

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[14] Jackson, 23.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1931-1932, 5.

[17] Calendar 1932-1933, 6.

[18] Calendar 1934-1935; to Calendar 1938-1939, 3-4.

[19] Calendar 1940-1941, 9.

An alumna summarized this mission in a personal way, writing: "Margaret Eaton School has influenced my life. The ideals and expectation of excellence, and the idea that we were ambassadresses to spread the concept of health and fitness were stressed at MES."[20]

1. Full-time Program

MES provided both theory, including a course in literature and a course in public speaking, and activity courses in physical education. It also offered practice teaching, and two one-month periods in camp education. Until 1933 it is not clear how the curriculum was different for first and second year students. The Calendar 1933-1934 is the first to list the courses by year of study.[21] It appears from this calender that theory subjects were sequenced by year, while the practical subjects included juniors and seniors. It is not clear whether students took practical subjects both years, whether students selected from those courses offered, or whether the courses were cycled every other year. A complete listing of courses, plus the hours required were listed in 1940 and shown on Figure 2.

The theory courses, as shown on Table 4, provided a comprehensive program for the students, emphasizing healthy living and treatments for deformities. There was a variety of course offerings in anatomy and physiology, in hygiene, in first aid, in the social sciences, in teaching, in literature, speech

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[20] Correspondence with Anne Lyster Toole, to the author, August 9, 1991; and Marjorie Culbert, November 11, 1991.

[21] Calendar 1933-1934, 7.

and drama. Except for the addition of several new courses in 1932, there was little change.

The anatomy course was offered throughout this period,[22] and focused on the "structure of the human body," and "the study of muscle action in reference to movements, exercises and certain deformities."[23] A second-year course in Applied Anatomy, and, in 1940, Kinesiology, were also offered.[24] Anthropometry, the measurement of the human

[22] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1936-1937, 6-7.

[23] Calendar 1938-1939, 10; and Calendar 1940-1941, 12.

[24] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1930-1931, 6-7.

Figure 2: The Course of Study, 1940-1941[25]

[25] Calendar 1940-1941, 10-11.

[26] **Table IV** Theory Subjects, 1926-1940

	1926	27	28	29	30	31	32	34	36	38	40
Anatomy	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Applied Anatomy	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			
Kinesiology											*
Anthropometry	*	*	*	*							
Camp Education									*	*	*
First Aid & Home Nurse	*	*	*	*	*						
First Aid						*	*	*	*	*	*
History of Physical Ed.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Hygiene	*	*	*	*	*	*					
Personal Hygiene							*	*	*	*	*
Hygiene for Teachers											*
Health Education							*	*	*	*	*
Hygiene & Prevent. Med.									*	*	
Community Hygiene											*
Lectures on Drama											*
Literature							*	*	*	*	*
English											*
Methods of PE	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Physiology	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Physiology of Exercise							*	*	*	*	*
Practice Teaching							*	*	*	*	*
Principles of Education							*	*	*	*	*
Psychology of Exercise	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Speak & Voice	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Sociology										*	*
Sports Technique							*	*	*	*	
Theory of Dancing						*	*	*	*	*	*
Theory of Games/Play	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Theory of Gymnastics	*	*	*	*	*			*	*	*	*
Theory of Swedish Gym.						*	*				
Theory of Remedial Gym. & Massage	*	*	*	*	*	*					
							*	*	*		
Remedial Gymnastics										*	*
Theory of Treatments							*				

body, was only offered from 1926 to 1930.[27] Physiology was offered as a course from 1926 to 1936, and was intended to assist students to understand the "interrelation of various bodily functions, and provide a basis for work in hygiene."[28] From 1938 to 1940 physiology was divided into two specialized courses: Physiology and Hygiene,[29] and Physiology of Exercise.[30]

Hygiene had always been an important component of the curriculum and was taught during this entire period. The focus was on community hygiene but varied somewhat from year to year. From 1926 to 1931 three objectives of this course included study of the general principles of hygienic living, administration of hygiene in schools, and instructional methods "regarding health habits."[31] In 1934 the course name was changed to Hygiene and Preventative Medicine,[32] and from 1938 to 1940 it was identified

[26] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1940-1941, 5-11.

[27] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1930-1931, 6-7.

[28] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1936-1937, 6-7.

[29] Calendar 1938-1939, 10; and Calendar 1940-1941, 12.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1932-1933, 6-7

[32] Calendar 1934-1935, 8.

as Community Hygiene.[33] From 1934 to 1940 a course was also added on Personal Hygiene. The aims of this course were to

> inspire the student with an interest in maintaining the highest standards of health for herself. It supplies the scientific knowledge of personal hygiene which will not only enable her to understand her own health problems, but will give her the foundation for the teaching of hygiene.[34]

Related to Hygiene was the introduction, in 1934, of a course in Health Education.[35]

Instruction in first aid took various forms. From 1926 to 1931 a course in First Aid and Home Nursing was offered. This course offered instruction in "quick and efficient treatment in cases of accident, in the prevention of illness, and in the care of the sick in the home. It led, upon examination, to the certificates of First Aid and Home Nursing of the St. John's Ambulance Association."[36] The home nursing component was deleted in 1932 and the course was simply called First Aid.[37] From 1931 to 1932 an additional course on Theory of Treatments was offered.[38]

From 1931 to 1932 the History of Physical Education course was described with considerable enthusiasm: "The History of physical education is treated as a great movement, co-existent with civilization itself."[39] The course was described more

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[33] Calendar 1936-1937; to Calendar 1940-1941, 8-12.

[34] Calendar 1934-1935, 7; and Calendar 1936-1937, 7.

[35] Calendar 1934-1935; to Calendar 1940-1941, 8-12.

[36] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1931-1932, 7-8.

[37] Calendar 1932-1933, 9.

[38] Calendar 1931-1932, 6.

[39] Calendar 1931-1932; to Calendar 1934-1935, 7-9.

modestly before[40] and after this calendar.[41]

The Psychology and Sociology course descriptions focused on intelligence[42] and human relationships.[43] The courses did not specifically deal with physical education, but were intended to broaden the student's background, and perhaps add prestige to the MES program.

The Methods in Physical Education course paid special attention to the "Systems" of gymnastics, as well as "rules governing Field Days and Athletic Meets, Summer Camp routine, and standard physical tests."[44] In 1931 the course was named Methods and Principles in Physical Education, and focused on the "characteristics and special interests" of people by age and gender.[45] In addition, beginning in 1931, a course was offered on the Science of Education, which served as providing a "scientific foundation" for the Methods in Physical Education.[46] From 1934 on, the course content was based upon the manual of the Ontario Department of Education.[47]

A course in Remedial Gymnastics and Massage, typical for this period, was offered throughout this period and contained instruction in the "causes and recognition of scoliosis, weak

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[40] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1930-1931, 6-7.

[41] Calendar 1934-1935; to Calendar 1940-1941, 9-13.

[42] Calendar 1932-1933; to Calendar 1940-1941, 8-12.

[43] Calendar 1938-1939, 10; and Calendar 1940-1941, 12.

[44] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1930-1931, 7-8.

[45] Calendar 1931-1932; to Calendar 1940-1941, 7-13.

[46] Calendar 1931-1932, 7; and Calendar 1932-1933, 9.

[47] Calendar 1934-1935; to Calendar 1940-1941, 9-13.

feet, and faulty posture, such as round shoulders, flat chest, forward head, round back, etc. The practical course in massage considers the technique, methods, and means of applying this treatment." Twice a week a Postural clinic was held to provide students opportunity to practice massage, and "prescribe and give corrective treatments for postural defects."[48]

The Theory of Dancing was offered from 1931 to 1940, and until 1934 emphasized movement patterns, history, and costuming of dances, including "primitive and ceremonial, court (of various periods and countries), folk, national, Greek, natural, character, ballet and tap."[49] The 1934 calendar changed the emphasis to modern dance.[50] With MES's origins in expression, and the school's affinity to classical Greece, it is not surprising that it readily adopted this new form of dance. Some students listed this course as a favourite, while others described it as the worst. One student came from a family where any dancing was frowned upon,[51] while others simply disliked the modern dance, as one graduate stated:

> Modern Dance. Ewwwh. I hated that stuff. I hated modern dance. I was not an actor and never wanted to be. We were supposed to act like a candle. I will never forget acting like a candle's flickering flame. Try to dance like a flickering flame sometime. I hated that course. We had to wear these awful slinky

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[48] Mary Hamilton, "The School 1926-33, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto;" Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1940-1941, 6-10.

[49] Calendar 1931-1932, 7; and Calendar 1932-1933, 8.

[50] Calendar 1934-1935, 9; and Calendar 1936-1937, 9.

[51] Correspondence with Helen Ricker, to the author, January 10, 1992.

dresses.[52]

A Theory of Gymnastics course was offered from 1926 to 1940. From 1931 to 1932 it was offered as a course in the Theory of Swedish Gymnastics.[53] The method was described as "an easy and graceful way of exercising the muscles of the body at the same time giving sufficient movement and co-ordination to strengthen and build it up."[54]

Perhaps in an effort to provide a well-rounded program, a course in literature was revived in 1930 and remained till the closing of MES. Nineteenth Century English writers were studied in this course.[55] In 1936 the course was simply described as one "based upon the work in English assigned to the First Year Pass Course at the University of Toronto."[56] From 1926 to 1940 a course was also offered in Voice, or Public Speaking as it was referred to from 1936 to 1940. This may be a carry-over from the previous period, but it was likely kept because of the perceived value of good speech for teachers.[57]

MES also offered an increasingly extensive list of courses in the "Practice" of Physical Education--see Table 5. The Calendars from 1926 to 1932 noted: "The Department devotes

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[52] Interview with Margaret Davison Lathrop, by the author, September 28, 1991. Another student stated: "to go up and act like a pig was unusual for me." Interview with Eleanor Keyes Kay, by the author, November 19, 1991.

[53] Calendar 1931-1932, 6.

[54] Margaret Currie, "England," Bulletin of the Canadian Physical Education Association 1, No. 1 (October 1933): 16.

[55] Calendar 1932-1933, 8; Calendar 1934-1935, 8; Calendar 1938-1939, 10; and Calendar 1940-1941, 12.

[56] Calendar 1936-1937, 8.

[57] Calendar 1932-1933; to Calendar 1940-1941, 8-12.

sufficient time to the practical side of the work, to give the student a working knowledge of all the practical subjects included in the curriculum."[58] In 1933 it was noted that

> Games and athletic skills which have become a most important part of school life, have increased in both number and variety and badminton, baseball, basketball, ground and ice hockey, lacrosse, tennis, volleyball and archery are major interests. We are fortunate in being able to use Ramsden Park for our out-door games including tennis, and during the winter months we rent the Varsity Arena for ice hockey and figure skating.[59]

The 1934 to 1938 descriptions were more specific, and noted that "Dancing is emphasized as one of the major activities for girls, and all types of dancing which are considered of educational value are taught."[60] In 1931, twenty-nine students earned an elementary country dance certificate, after being examined by two examiners from the English Folk Dance Society from the USA.[61] By 1940 the term "Activities" replaced "Practice" and a detailed account of the nature of this instruction was provided.

> The school program offers fifteen to twenty hours a week of practice activities which give the student the skill and knowledge necessary in teaching these activities. They include gymnastics, apparatus exercises, students and tumbling; several types of dancing including creative, folk and national tap and social dancing; games for children, and the many games, sports and athletic activities which girls and women are playing with benefit. In addition to

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[58] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1932-1933, 6-7.

[59] Mary Hamilton, "The School 1926-33, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[60] Calendar 1934-1935; to Calendar 1938-1939, 9-11.

[61] "Margaret Eaton Students Merit Dance Certificates," Globe (23 March 1931): 16.

[62] **Table V** Activities, 1926-1940

	1926	27	28	29	30	31	32	34	36	38	40
Archery	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Badminton						*	*	*	*	*	*
Baseball	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Basketball	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Campcraft							*	*	*	*	*
Canoeing					*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Children's games							*	*	*	*	*
Dancing											
Aesthetic	*	*	*	*	*						
Ballet						*					
Character						*	*	*	*	*	
Children								*	*	*	
Clog							*				
Creative						*	*	*	*	*	*
Folk	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Greek						*					
National						*	*	*	*	*	*
Natural						*	*				
Social									*	*	*
Tap								*	*	*	*
Diving							*	*	*	*	
Fencing	*	*	*	*	*						
Golf											*
Ground-hockey	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Gymnastics											*
American	*	*	*	*	*						
Fundamental							*	*	*	*	
General						*					
German							*	*	*	*	
Natural							*	*			
Remedial	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
Rhythmical						*					
Stunts...									*	*	*
Swedish	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
Handicraft										*	*
Ice-hockey	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Lacrosse						*	*	*	*	*	*
Life-saving	*	*	*	*	*	*					
Nature study										*	
Skating											
Figure								*	*	*	*
Plain								*	*	*	
Social Rec.											*
Swimming	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Tennis	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Track & Field	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Volleyball							*	*	*	*	*
Water sports							*	*	*	*	

[62] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1940-1941, 5-11.

> learning the skill and technique, the student learns how to teach and organize the activity and to officiate. Camp craft and canoeing and other camp activities are conducted in the natural camp setting. Figure skating and ice hockey are taken in the winter months. Swimming, diving and life saving are practised at camp and in the city. Opportunity is given the student to qualify for the certificates of the Royal Life Saving Society.[63]

From 1926 to 1936 the calendar, under the heading of Sports and Athletics, also noted that "Exceptional opportunities for practice in Land and Water Sports and Athletics are provided in the city and also at Camp Tanamakoon."[64] By 1936, "Camp Tanamakoon" was changed to "camp," since MES began to also make use of Camp Couchiching every other year.[65]

Swimming received special mention. The course was described as follows: "The instruction in swimming, includes Lifesaving, Water Sports and Diving. An opportunity is given the students of qualifying for the Bronze, Silver and Gold medallions of the Royal Life Saving Society."[66] It was noted that the bronze medal was required for graduation, but 60 per cent of the students received a silver medal as well. Students were also required to teach swimming.[67]

Practice Teaching was a key ingredient to the MES program. From 1926 to 1930 it was noted: "In addition to the regular periods of practice teaching, the students of the Senior year take charge, under the supervision of the Department, of classes

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[63] Calendar 1940-1941, 13.

[64] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1934-1935, 9-10.

[65] Calendar 1936-1937, 9; and Calendar 1938-1940, 11.

[66] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1940-1941, 9-13.

[67] Mary Hamilton, "The School 1926-33, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

of Public School children."[68] The 1931 description stated more specifically that:

> during the senior year each student conducts at least one class a week in the public schools under supervision. Individual conferences are arranged during which lesson plans for the forthcoming week are presented and criticism on the preceding lesson given. This teaching includes all branches of physical education.[69]

The 1932 and subsequent Calendars indicated that the "regular periods of Practice Teaching" occurred during the second half of the first year, and that the schools used were three or four public schools in Toronto.[70] In addition, the 1938 and 1940 Calendars noted that "opportunities are open to the students for volunteer teaching of afternoon and evening recreational classes, game officiating and social recreation for adults."[71]

The students were evaluated in five major categories: person, class control, lesson, environment, and general. More specifically, for the "person," items looked for included: "neatness and posture, energy and enthusiasm, use of English, voice--speaking and singing, and use of whistle." The other areas included such items as preparation, understanding, suitability, accuracy and originality of presentation, light and ventilation, and "ability to profit from mistakes."[72]

Beginning in 1925, Normal Course students met at Camp

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[68] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1930-1931, 7-8.

[69] Calendar 1931-1932, 8.

[70] Calendar 1932-1933; to Calendar 1938-1939, 5-9; and Mary Hamilton, "The School 1926-33, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[71] Calendar 1938-1940, 11; and Calendar 1940-1941, 13.

[72] "The Margaret Eaton School Observation of Practice Teaching," in a file of the author, received from Winnifred McLennan.

Tanamakoon in Algonquin Park. The three week meetings were in September. One student recalled that "Hamilton felt that the students of MES should have camping experience and so, aided by Norah Maclennan ('22), she opened Camp Tanamakoon."[73]

The annual September Camp Training course continued until 1948. The 1926-1930 Calendars provide the following description of the camp.

THE SEPTEMBER CAMP

> The classes will commence their regular course of instruction at Camp Tanamakoon on September 4th. This plan of opening the season with a month's training under Camp conditions presents many attractive features.
>
> Camp Tanamakoon is beautifully situated on White Lake, Algonquin Park, about two miles from Highland Inn and the Park Headquarters. The main building of the Camp consists of a large recreation room with a fireplace, a screened-in dining room, and a kitchen. Cabins along the Lake shore provide the campers' sleeping quarters.
>
> A sandy beach and well-sheltered bay offer ideal conditions for swimming and canoe instruction; a level clearing behind the Camp gives ample space for games and athletics, and the network of lakes in the Park makes possible innumerable canoe-trips.[74]

The 1931 Calendar only stated: "This plan of opening the season with a month's training under camp conditions presents many attractive features."[75] In 1932, it was noted that MES

> is the only institution in Canada which offers camp leadership training combined with a regular physical education course. Experience over a period of years

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[73] Irma Moyer Manning, "Margaret Eaton School," in "Welcome to our Reunion - The 45th Year of the Class of '39," in a file of the author, received from Winnifred McLennan. Was also published by the Recollection Group of Ryerson Polytechnical Institute in Toronto.

[74] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1930-1931, 4-5. See also "The Call of Algonquin," Globe and Mail (4 October 1958); and Jackson, 22.

[75] Calendar 1931-1932, 4.

> in placing our graduates has convinced the director that prospective employers appreciate the special training that our students receive during their two months spent at camp.[76]

The two subsequent calendars more lavishly praised the camping experience, in terms of the beauty of the camp, the value of the learning experience, and increasing the student's employment opportunities.[77]

In 1935, 1937 and 1940, the Ontario Athletic Commission Camp was used alternatively with Camp Tanamakoon. This camp "offers well equipped field for athletic games and sports, such as track and field, archery, ground hockey, baseball, tennis and lacrosse. Its location on Lake Couchiching also makes it possible to carry on swimming and canoeing," and it was closer to Toronto.[78] The difference was described by a student:

> My first year was at Camp Tanamakoon where we were really in training for camp counsellors in canoeing, swimming, camp crafts and so on, and the second year it was at the Ontario Athletic commission camp where we had more track and field and that type of event and training. They alternated those camps.[79]

From 1926 to 1934 the School's faculty was the camp staff, with extra instructors and guides for riding, canoeing, sailing, campcraft, and a week-end canoe trip. The camp did extend the School year for the MES. Other post-secondary institutions, such as the University of Toronto, began classes the last week of September.

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[76] Calendar 1932-1933; and Mary Hamilton, "The School 1926-33," AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[77] Calendar 1934-1935; to Calendar 1938-1939, 4-5.

[78] Calendar 1936-1937; to Calendar 1940-1941, 4 & 8.

[79] Interview with Muriel Nelles Whyte, by the author, August 1991.

Most of the graduates who were interviewed listed the camping experience as their fondest memory at MES. Many of them acted as counsellors at Camp Tanamakoon before, during, and after attending MES. One counsellor described the summer camp as follows:

> Miss Hamilton formed the camp in order to give her girls a camping experience, which she felt was very important for the development of a person's personality, independence... and we really worked at it. We went up there two weeks in June and set up camp and got lectures from her and got to know one another as counsellors, and then when the kids came in we had our own cabin of girls. When the season was over she would ask the girls to assess the counsellors. Which was a new, but very good experience. She would just talk to the girls. If she did not like what she heard you wouldn't come back.[80]

In addition to the September Camp, MES also was host to several Camp Education Courses and Counsellor Education Courses. In 1937, 189 people registered for the Camp Education Course, and the following year, 57 registered. In 1937 approximately 150 registered for the Counsellor Education course,[81] the 1938 course was attended by 106 registrants. Approximately 80 per cent of the attenders were single women, 2 to 3 percent were married women, and the remaining 17 per cent were men.[82] Dr. Brock Chisholm was one of the main speakers at the 1938 course. He titled his talk, "The Human Material with Which We Work." He emphasized the importance of a camping experience to the personal development of the campers.[83]

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[80] Interview with Margaret Davison Lathrop, by the author, September 28, 1991.

[81] "Counsellor Training Course," 1937-1938 M.E.S. Amies, 32.

[82] AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Accounting Journal (1936-1940)."

[83] "Camp Counsellors Given Advice Upon Material of Work," Globe and Mail (4 March 1938): 12.

The implementation of a cooperative arrangement between MES and the University of Toronto worked to their mutual advantage, though eventually this arrangement would assist in the merger of MES with the university and see to the closing of the former. By cooperative arrangement MES students took Anatomy, English, and Psychology at the University, while the University physical education diploma students took Remedial Exercises and various practice courses, and the University Physical and Occupational Therapy classes received instruction in Theory and Practice of Gymnastics, at MES. The University Women's Athletic Association also used the MES gymnasium three hours a week.[84]

Following the first year, Somers reported appreciation for the University's cooperation but was "disturbed at the low marks of our students in Anatomy, but we hope that these will improve as the students become more accustomed to the requirements of university courses." She recommended that "the same plan be repeated next year." She also offered the use of the September camping experience to interested University students, and hoped that other means of co-operation would be added.[85]

Although there was some animosity between the students of the University and MES, by and large the relationship worked out well. As one student said: "They thought we didn't know anything

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[84] Mary Hamilton, "The School 1926-33, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto;" Florence Somers, "Report on 'Co-operation' Between The University of Toronto and The Margaret Eaton School for 1934-35," April 31, 1935, UTA-DPEA: A87-0027/034; and Florence Somers, "Annual Report of the Director of The Margaret Eaton School," May 1935, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto." Kathleen McMurrich's father was the well known anatomy professor, also from the University of Toronto, Dr. J. Playfair McMurrich, see "Dr McMurrich Noted Teacher Dies in Toronto," Evening Telegram (10 February 1939): 37.

[85] Ibid.

and we thought they didn't know anything. They had a lot more theory and we had a lot more practise."[86] Almost all the students interviewed and questioned for this dissertation commented on the Anatomy course taken at the University Medical School. It was considered a tough course, and though some really enjoyed it, others listed it as one of their worst memories. It was a difficult course, and one graduate sadly recalling the anatomy examinations, wrote, "seeing class mates' reaction as they left these exams was a miserable time!"[87] There was also considerable comment about the use of cadavers for the course. Some thought it fascinating,[88] some could not stand the smell in the room,[89] but most realized the benefit of this work. One graduate summarized the class' experience when she wrote:

> I can remember walking in, finding the room, opening the door, and there was a stiff laid out. I took a deep breath and approached it. Some of the students walked in, turned bright green and quickly left. We worked on the stiffs. Had to know the body, and we had to know what the muscles did. It was a very good thing to have."[90]

Another student stated that she least enjoyed the practical side of anatomy.

> But it did teach us the muscles groups in a very practical way. This we had to know if we were giving exercises to people and giving remedial training and

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[86] Interview with Netta Morrison, by the author, November 9, 1991.

[87] Correspondence with Katharine Reed Swenson, to the author, July 27, 1991.

[88] Correspondence with Dorothy Walker, to the author, May 14, 1991.

[89] Correspondence with Bette Marshall Erickson, to the author, July 5, 1991.

[90] Interview with Elizabeth Jarvis Johnston, by the author, September 28, 1991.

> so. We had to actually see the actual muscles that were to be trained. It was rather a tough course. A medical student I knew said it was like their fifth year anatomy course. I remember we had a very large medical book to study from. But it stuck with me.[91]

To top it off, one student recalling a bad memory of the school, she reported "nothing bad only something funny, like eating roast beef sandwiches as soon as we stepped out of anatomy lab after working on cadaver muscles. This was MES choice, not ours!"[92]

The curriculum of the school changed only slightly during this period, and emphasized physical education. Throughout this last period MES offered a comprehensive physical education program.

B. Part-time Program

Besides offering a course for full-time students, the community classes continued for "women and children." The school also sponsored several speakers and conferences, in addition to a new annual "Refresher Course" held during the Christmas holidays.

The 1926 Calendar description of the part-time offerings included: practice in physical education for two hours a week, eight forty-five minute swimming lessons, Saturday morning children's dance classes. Cost varied between six and ten dollars per term.[93] The 1927 program added Wednesday evening Folk

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[91] Interview with Muriel Nelles Whyte, by the author, August 1991.

[92] Correspondence with Dorothy Leggett, to the author, July 4, 1991; and Helen Ricker, January 10, 1992.

[93] Calendar 1926-1927, 11.

and Aesthetic Dancing.[94] Physical education classes included such activities as gymnastics and badminton. This custom continued at least until 1932.[95] After 1932 these programs were no longer advertised in the Calendars.

In 1932, Jackson supervised Wednesday evening badminton lessons, followed with a swim.[96] In 1935, Kathleen Pepler taught a class in German Gymnastics; Florence Somers taught classes in Folk Dancing, as well as in Games for Recreation leaders; and Hobday taught a class in creative dance.[97] In 1938, Joyce Jarvis offered two evening dancing lessons. One of these was in Modern Dance, and was meant to "stimulate the creative impulse and to develop rhythm, bodily freedom, control and poise." The other course was in Singing games and Folk Dance and was intended for elementary school teachers.[98] In 1939 the children's Saturday morning programs in swimming and dancing continued to be held, and were led by Hobday.[99] To safe-guard the children's health, the following four hygiene rules were stated: presentation of medical certificate before beginning the first lesson; MES provided a sterilized suit and towel; all children were to wear

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[94] Calendar 1927-1928, 11; and Advertisement, Globe (1 January 1927): 18.

[95] Calendar 1928-1929; to Calendar 1931-1932, 11-14; Advertisement, Globe, (27 September 1930): 17; and see a special advertisement just on part-time courses, Globe (4 January 1930): 2; (26 September 1931): 16; (30 September 1931): 14; and (3 October 1931): 16.

[96] Advertisement, Globe 1932: (1 January): 14; (27 February): 14; and (1 October): 14.

[97] "The Margaret Eaton School," January 9, 1935, Department of Physical Education and Athletics, A87-0027/034.

[98] Dance pamphlet, UTA-DPEA, A87-0027/034.

[99] "Children's programmes," 1939, UTA-DPEA, A87-0027/034.

bathing shoes, to "prevent the development and spread of diseases common to the feet;" and, "a warm, soap shower with the suit off, is required of everyone before entering the pool. At the end of the lesson, a cold shower is strongly recommended."[100]

MES also sponsored several speakers.[101] One of the highlights for the fall of 1931 were three presentations made at MES by Elizabeth Burchenal. She was an authority on folk dance, at the time, president of the American Folk Dance Society and the United States representative on the International Commission of Folk Arts of the League of Nations.[102] Her first presentation was positively received by 150 dancers, 80 from MES, and the remainder from the Ontario College of Education, physical directors of private and public schools and others.[103] In her final presentation she argued that "Folk arts represent the very heart and soul of a country," contributing happiness and wholesome recreation to all participants.[104]

XXVII. Faculty

The Faculty of this period consisted of two to four full-time female faculty members, with a complement of part-time faculty of both genders. The faculty were highly respected by

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[100] "Skill Through Fun - For the Children," pamphlet, UTA-DPEA, A87-0027/034.

[101] Advertisement, Globe, (3 October 1931): 16.

[102] "Dance, Sing: Cure Disease of Depression," Globe (10 October 1931): 16.

[103] "Folk Dancing Has New Value," Globe, (14 October 1931): 14.

[104] "Folk Dances of World May Vary But Music Runs in Similar Strain," Globe (15 October 1931): 14.

the students, and thought to be a "most remarkable and dedicated group of women."[105] Another student later wrote,

> The challenge to do well was always there and most teachers did their best to bring out the best in the students. For the most part they were kind, helpful and understanding of the needs of each individual. The courses were thorough and the best offered in Canada--perhaps in NA for the time.[106]

In an 1989 reunion booklet of the class of '39, following a listing of the faculty was Churchill's famous quote, "Never has so much been owed to so many by so few."[107]

After the Expression and Drama departments were removed from the curriculum in 1926, there were few instructors outside the immediate area of Physical Education; see Appendix E3.[108] Of the twelve full-time instructors, Somers had an MA, four had BA's, and three graduated from MES. The credentials of four are not known. Of the sixty part-time instructors, five held a Ph.D., five held an MA--most of these instructors were from the University and taught anatomy or served as medical examiners--six held BAs, two held diplomas, and fourteen were attending or had graduated from MES.

Prominent full-time faculty of this time include Somers and Jackson. When MES amalgamated with the University of Toronto in 1941, these women joined the University Faculty.

Somers began her work at MES in 1933, and assumed

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[105] Correspondence with Dorothy Laidlaw Corbett, to the author, July 24, 1991.

[106] Correspondence with Carol Hendry Duffus, to the author, July 26, 1991.

[107] "M.E.S. 1939-1989," in a file of the author, received from Winnifred McLennan.

[108] Jackson, 34-35.

principalship of the School in 1934. About her character, it was written:

> "Tall, clever, and well read, Florence Somers was an excellent, experienced teacher. She was interested in all the students, and willing to do anything she could to help them in their work. She was a true friend to those to whom she gave her friendship. She had a great sense of humor, an appreciation of excellence, and her own standards were high and honoured. Those who worked with, or for her, or were her students, were fortunate, and richer for this experience."[109]

To her students, she was affectionately known as "Fliss."[110] Almost all the students found she had high expectations, was intellectually stimulating, fair, understanding, and an "outstanding woman in her field."[111] For several students she went out of her way to be of help,[112] and others kept in touch with her till her death.[113] One graduate recalls one of Somers favourite expressions: "`Do it good girls'--we used to say it to each other when on our own."[114] One student said of Somers that she was

> very bound and determined that her girls would look smart and well turned out, not muscle bound. And ladies! We were to be ladies first and we were to

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[109] Mary Baker, "Florence A. Somers," CAHPER Journal 44, No. 2 (1977): 25 & 44.

[110] Correspondence with Bette Marshall Erickson, to the author, July 5, 1991; and with Gerry Dickson Rogers, to the author, July 2, 1991.

[111] Correspondence with Kay Cumming, to the author, October 28, 1991; Shirley Naylor McCatty, December 5, 1991; Jean King Morrison, December 31, 1991; and Diana Cameron, January 13, 1992.

[112] Correspondence with Shiga Hasagawa Ishimura, to the author, July 26, 1991; and with Roberta Hill Elkin, July 10, 1991.

[113] Correspondence with Phoebe Hamilton, to the author, July 23, 1991; and with Winnifred McLennan Johnston, to the author, September 21, 1991.

[114] Correspondence with Anne Thomson, to the author, November 26, 1991.

> teach Physical Education. She was very fussy. Appearance--when she walked down the hall she would say, "when you are in front of class you stand up straight," that kind of thing. She was a wonderful woman.[115]

Or as Somers stated to the 1936 graduates, "May you give to the girls with whom you come in contact... femininity and charm and withal a zest for action and a vital personality which is the reflection of a love for activity."[116]

She practised relaxation techniques and students recalled how "`Fliss' used to go up and down flexing her ankles and relaxing so much she would fall asleep at the drop of a hat when she wanted to."[117] She "took naps at her desk while we read."[118] In connection with posture, one student recalled Somers' "perfect posture,"[119] while another student recalled that Somers "always wanted us to sit up straight. She had a funny little expression she used. She'ld say `Sit on your pants.'"[120] She was also considered "remote and authoritarian,"[121] or a "very tall rather

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[115] Interview with Margaret Davison Lathrop, by the author, September 28, 1991.

[116] Florence Somers, "Seniors," M.E.S. Magazine 1935-1936, 1.

[117] Correspondence with Bette Marshall Erickson, to the author, July 5, 1991; and with Anne Lyster Toole, to the author, August 9, 1991.

[118] Correspondence with Dorothy Buck Raphael, to the author, July 8, 1991.

[119] Correspondence with Elinor Wallace Souchuk, to the author, July 8, 1991.

[120] Interview with Muriel Sinclair Osburn, by the author, August 16, 1991.

[121] Correspondence with Joan Brown Hillary, to the author, July 30, 1991; and with Elinor Wallace Souchuk, to the author, July 8, 1991.

austere lady--a disciplinarian...."[122] One student, in particular, felt the negative consequences of Somers' firmness. This student recalled that Somers was a

> hard task master--as I was to learn when graduation came and my class graduated in May and I picked up my diploma in October after repeating September camp. All positions having been filled by then! Also my final marks were docked because I took an extra day at Easter time--making me drop from second highest student in class--it was a bitter pill.[123]

Students were also amused by the restriction on smoking they had to obey, yet when visiting Somers in her residence room "you could not see in the air because it was blue with smoke."[124] Somers died on June 18, 1977.[125]

Prior to coming to the Margaret Eaton School, Somers' had received a B.A. from Boston University, an M.A. from New York University, and a Physical School Education Diploma from the Sargent School.[126] After 1908 she held positions in Baltimore elementary schools; Cleveland normal and high schools; East Orange, N.J., public schools; Boston University, Oberlin College Normal School; was Associate Director of the Sargent School, and Assistant Director in the Massachusetts Department of Education. She also taught at summer schools at Geneva College,

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[122] Correspondence with Joyce Jarvis Matthews, to the author, July 23, 1991; Patty Sterne, October 22, 1939; and with Ruth Scott Prophet, January 14, 1922.

[123] Correspondence with Carol Hendry Duffus, to the author, July 26, 1991.

[124] Interview with Nora Gauld Wistow, by the author, November 12, 1991.

[125] Newspaper clipping found in the Christmas Address Book of Charlotte Layton.

[126] "Our President Gets American Award," CPEA Bulletin 8, No. 2 (1940): 1.

Pennsylvania; University of Utah; and Ontario Department of Education. Somers was the first treasurer and the second president, the first woman president, of the Canadian Physical Education Association (CPEA) from 1939 to 1941.[127] In 1940 she also became the new head of the Recreation Committee for the Local Council of Women.[128] She had also been a member of professional organizations such as the National Committee and National Section of Women's Athletics of the American Association of Health, Physical Education and Recreation (AAHPER); the Women's Division of the N.A.A.F., and served on the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. She gave talks,[129] and wrote articles,[130] and a book, entitled: Principles of Women's Athletics. Somers received the Honour Award of the American Physical Education Association in 1940.[131]

She became especially busy during the first year of amalgamation in 1941,

> Miss Somers is doing a lot of teaching--Community Hygiene Methods, Principles of Education, Social Recreation and Archery all in our building, and history and principles, Social Recreation and archery

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[127] The-News-of-the-School VII (September 1939), 1; and Maureen Bray, "The History of the Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, Incorporated," (Master's Thesis, University of Oregon, 1957), 128-129.

[128] Telegram (27 January 1940).

[129] "Health Speaker--Miss Florence A. Somers," Globe (28 December 1933): 8.

[130] A list of a few articles she wrote includes: "Ideals for Girls' Athletics," Bulletin of the CPEA 3, No. 9 (1936); 9-10; "Reaction to Blumenfeld," Bulletin of the CPEA 4, No. 10 (1936): 18; and "National Recreation Association Convention in Boston," CPEA Bulletin 7, No. 2: 1 & 3.

[131] "Personals," The-News-of-the-School VIII, No. 3 (March 1940): 5; and "Our President Gets American Award," CPEA Bulletin 8, No. 2 (1940): 1.

> at the University, supervise Senior's practice teaching in the public schools... Miss Somers, Miss Jackson and Miss Naylor all teach both M.E.S. and University girls. It must be a little hectic for them in sports, when they have to dash up to the University for a class or two then back to the Margaret Eaton School for another.[132]

A brisk walk from the one facility to the other took at least fifteen minutes.

Dorothy Jackson attended Parkdale Collegiate Institute in Toronto, and graduated from MES in 1927. She worked for five years at the Winnipeg Y.W.C.A.,[133] and was the Vice President of the Manitoba Physical Education Association.[134] While she was in Winnipeg, she also began a "Preparatory Physical Education Course for Senior High School and University students interested in Physical Education as a vocation, or in other phases of group leadership."[135] She joined the MES faculty in 1933. At MES she taught physical education, badminton and sociology.[136] She received a scholarship from the New York University Center for Safety Education in 1939 and completed her B.Sc. there in 1940.[137] She also studied at the University of Manitoba, at Wisconsin, Toronto, the Medan School in Germany, and graduated with an M.A.

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[132] The-News-of-the-School IX, No. 2 (December 1941): 2.

[133] Iveagh Munro, "In Memoriam - Dorothy N. R. Jackson," The Journal of The Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation 30, No. 5 (1967): 20-21.

[134] "Manitoba." Bulletin of the CPEA 1, No. 1 (October 1933): 11.

[135] "Manitoba." Bulletin of the CPEA 1, No. 1 (October 1933): 11; "Preparatory Physical Education in Y.W.C.A. First Year Work," Bulletin of the CPEA 1, No. 2 (January 1934): 13.

[136] The-News-of-the-School VI, No. 2 (December 1938): 1.

[137] "Sepia," Bulletin of the CPEA 7, No. 4 (February 1940): 6.

from New York.[138] While others received pay for teaching, Jackson volunteered her services at the MES Refresher Course, offered during the Christmas break in 1940.[139]

Her students described her as active, enthusiastic, "very exact--you did things right or you didn't do them,"[140] and consequently, she was sometimes considered to be a "rather harsh task-master."[141] She was also described as "very firm and very fair. She got the very best out of you."[142] One student remembered with fondness Jackson reading to them at the campfire at camp.[143] Another student noted: "Gymnastics with Miss Wardley and Miss Jackson--they were the best--they taught us poise and confidence and in their own way we learned to respect them."[144] But with Jackson's demanding approach many of the students were concerned about getting her disapproval in the pool, or passing her swim examinations, or her "Monday morning gym examination."[145] Jackson's sarcasm is remembered as the worst MES memory of one

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[138] The-News-of-the-School VII, No. 4 (June 1940): 3; and "Ontario," Bulletin of the CPEA 4, No. 10 (December 1936): 21-22.

[139] "The Margaret Eaton School--Ninth Annual Refresher Course Financial Statement--1940," UTA-DEPA, A87-0027/034.

[140] Interview with Muriel Sinclair Osburn, by the author, August 16, 1991.

[141] Interview with Muriel Nelles Whyte, by the author, August 1991.

[142] Interview with Margaret Davison Lathrop, by the author, September 28, 1991.

[143] Correspondence with Bette Marshall Erickson, to the author, July 5, 1991.

[144] Correspondence with Rhoda Wood Green, to the author, July 25, 1991; and with Katharine Reed Swenson, to the author, July 27, 1991.

[145] Correspondence with Letha Meilicke Keate, to the author, September 1, 1991.

student.[146] One other student remarked that "I believe most of the students adored her [Jackson]. I had no use for her--show off, adept at histrionics, unkind, reportedly `cruel' to parents, and rude to Miss Somers in front of others."[147] Most students remember her as a little masculine, and very slender, and some wondered if her sexual orientation was lesbian.

Shirley Naylor ('37) joined the MES staff in 1939, following two years as the director of Physical Education at the Windsor Y.W.C.A., in Ontario. Jackson commented that Naylor "will long be remembered for her skill in wood carving and camp activities."[148] When MES amalgamated with the University of Toronto, Naylor also joined the University faculty and spent "most of her time teaching at the University in the Lillian Massey Gymnasium."[149]

Other faculty included Marion Hobday, a Graduate of Boston University and Sargent, who was a "wonderful modern dance teacher,"[150] at MES.[151] She married in 1939 but "will continue to teach the Modern Dance."[152] Elizabeth Wardley (Mrs. Ralph Raymer) also actively contributed. Jackson lists Wardley's contributions

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[146] Correspondence with Dorothy Buck Raphael, to the author, July 8, 1991.

[147] Correspondence with Marg Large-Cardoso, to the author, July 22, 1991.

[148] Jackson, 27.

[149] The-News-of-the-School IX, No. 2 (December 1941): 2.

[150] Interview with Muriel Nelles Whyte, by the author, August 1991.

[151] The-News-of-the-School VIII, No. 2 (December 1939): 1.

[152] C. H. Layton, The-News-of-the-School VIII, No. 2 (December 1939): 6.

as including: "The annual publication of the School Magazine, M.E.S. AMIES,... [she] was responsible for much of the fine school spirit. She wrote many humorous skits as well as treasured Camp and School songs."[153] Her lectures were especially appreciated by her students, and as one student described her, she was "a real mentor."[154] After she married she resigned her position at the School, to the regret of the students.[155] Flora Musgrave ('27) and Eleanor Keyes ('36)[156] graduated from MES; Irene Thomson, graduated from the Sargent School, Boston; and Lilabel Sloat, graduated from the Chicago Normal School of Physical Education...; Lillian Pollard came from St. Thomas' Hospital, London, England; Elva Miller ('27); and Lesley M. Urwick, graduated from Chelsea College of Physical Education, London, England.[157]

Charlotte Kaulbach Fierro taught tennis,[158] Swedish gymnastics and figure skating. Kaulbach was described as "a real stern teacher. She was a wonderful teacher. But you didn't crack a smile in her class."[159] According to Jackson, "Gymnastics and the Theory of Gymnastics probably have seldom been taught so conscientiously... quiet and sympathetic in manner but exacting

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[153] Jackson, 27.

[154] Correspondence with Joan Brown Hillary, to the author, July 30, 1991.

[155] The-News-of-the-School VIII, No. 4 (June 1941): 3.

[156] "Margaret Eaton Pupils Conclude Skating Term," Globe and Mail (1 March 1939): 11.

[157] Jackson, 24.

[158] The-News-of-the-School VI, No. 2 (December 1938): 1.

[159] Interview with Muriel Sinclair Osburn, by the author, August 16, 1991.

and meticulous in the gymnasium. Classes in Games and Dancing... were instructed in the true spirit of play... nothing was ever dull or drab...."[160]

M. Burnaby, who taught Handcraft at MES, began her career in 1903 at the Toronto Conservatory. When she began in 1903, it was noted: "Mrs. Burnaby, graduate of the Behuke Method of Elocution, will join the College in September, and will devote her whole time to reading and elocution classes throughout the School."[161] There was also Ruby Thomas Kinsey, who taught Lacrosse,[162] and Grace Landers, who taught Handicraft and puppetry.[163]

MES continued to employ several male instructors,[164] of anatomy, psychology or medicine. Kendrick, who taught Psychology, also taught at the Toronto Normal School.[165] Other males who contributed to portions of the Schools program included "Mr. W. R. Watson, `Mr. Nature', of the Biology Department of the University of Toronto was there [camp] for two weeks as nature instructor."[166]

Several males taught shorter activity courses. The 1940 Newsletter also noted that a Dave Hutchison, golf instructor at the University of Toronto, taught a course in golf.[167] Charles

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[160] Jackson, 24.

[161] Advertisement, Globe, (25 July 1903): 21.

[162] The-News-of-the-School VI, No. 2 (December 1938): 1.

[163] The-News-of-the-School VI, No. 2 (December 1938): 1.

[164] Jackson, 34-35.

[165] The-News-of-the-School VI, No. 2 (December 1938): 1.

[166] "News and Social Notes," The-News-of-the-School VIII, No. 2 (December 1939): 1.

[167] The-News-of-the-School VIII, No. 3 (March 1940): 2-3.

Cutts, the professional at the Toronto Lawn Tennis Club, taught tennis for the month at camp in 1940.[168] In the Spring of 1941 there was opportunity for those who wanted it to take a series of lectures on riding. Jack Hope was the instructor.[169]

Charlotte Layton deserves some mention. She was the school's secretary from 1926-1941, and then continued her work at the University of Toronto. She was admired by all the students, and was instrumental in keeping graduates in touch with each other, especially through her work as editor for the alumnae newsletter the News-of-the-School. Students recall her as having been motherly, dear, pleasant, kind, wonderful, and knowing everything about the school. Perhaps one of the more touching stories about her is from a Japanese student, who wrote:

> I went to the doctor's with Miss Layton, and was told I had open tuberculosis. Miss Layton had been told about it and, she received, the day before, a letter of admission from Columbia University addressed to me, with a leaflet on the University! Miss Layton's phone and invitation to the dinner were all from her fear that my shock might have been too big. She drove me away from the city of Toronto for hours and hours. She repeatedly said, "Shiga, you are peach. It's nice that we go through many hardships. You can overcome them all right." I didn't know what peach meant then; I cried a lot beside her in the car, but felt so happy after hours of drive."[170]

XXVIII. Students

As will be shown in the following pages, the students came because of an interest in physical education and sport. They

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[168] The-News-of-the-School VIII, No. 2 (December 1940): 1.

[169] The-News-of-the-School VIII, No. 3 (March 1941): 1.

[170] Correspondence with Shiga Hasagawa Ishimura, to the author, July 26, 1991.

were high school graduates, coming mainly from prosperous Canadian homes, and some from abroad. Life at the school, and residence, was demanding, and focused on helping these girls to become young women with a missionary zeal for physical education. The school was paternalistic and sought to control much of the student's life. Clubs and parties were enjoyed, but were also intended as learning experiences in organization. Demonstrations of the student's work, just prior to commencement exercises, was a usual way of ending the school year. Commencement speakers reminded students of the importance of physical education, democracy and the need for these women to "serve mankind." Students left MES and found work in their field, particularly in the Y.W.C.A.s and private girls schools. Many graduates took advantage of summer schools and other opportunities for professional development. After developing their skills and enthusiasm for physical education, they left with a mission to encourage that interest in others.

A. Student Admission Requirements and Background

As early as 1909, students were encouraged to have completed grade thirteen, but no mention is made of that or any other academic requirements from 1926 to 1931. The only requirement was that students must pass a medical examination.[171] It was not until 1932 that academic requirements were stated as necessary for admission. That year high school graduation or beyond was the stated requirement of MES. If students had a B.A. or B.Sc.,

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[171] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1931-1932, 9-10.

then they could complete their studies in one year.[172] Academic regulations had indeed tightened. Following 1932, those who did not have Senior Matriculation "must spend three years in order to qualify for the diploma."[173] What three years of course work entailed is unclear. By 1938, students from Ontario were asked to have "Full Ontario Junior Matriculation [grade twelve] or Junior Matriculation without Latin for which has been substituted either another foreign language or Upper School Biology. It is suggested, however, that whenever possible full matriculation [grade thirteen] be obtained."[174] These requirements held in 1940 but were prefaced with the following remarks: "Commencing in 1941, Ontario Upper School or its equivalent in the other provinces with 50% in each subject, will be necessary, for admission. This change is made... to keep in line with the rising standards in other institutions."[175] Although the same program was followed by all students, those who had completed grade thirteen received a diploma. The others received a certificate.[176]

Based on interviews with graduates, two-thirds of them chose to attend MES because of a love for sports. As one person wrote: "I read a calender about MES and visualizing endless days of

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[172] Calendar 1932-1933; to Calendar 1936-1937, 12.

[173] Ibid.

[174] Calendar 1938-1939, 14 & 15. It was noted in pen on my copy of this Calendar "whenever possible matriculation with Latin be obtained."

[175] Calendar 1940-1941, 16-17.

[176] Interview with Eleanor Keyes Kay, by the author, November 19, 1991.

sports activities decided it was the place for me."[177] Others chose it because they appreciated the quality of an MES graduate as one of their teachers. Included in this list are such people as Betty McCammon ('30) from Moulton College, Mona Miller ('23) from Victoria High School, Barbara Heseltine ('34) in Japan, and Dona Smellie ('23) from Branksome.[178] Others went because of the advice of a teacher, for personal health reasons, parental choice, or because it was "considered the best," or the "leading school" in physical education for women in North America.[179]

Of those interviewed, forty-three per cent came from private schools, forty-five per cent came from public schools, and twelve per cent came from a university. Those that went to private schools were mostly from the Toronto area and went to schools such as Branksome, Bishop Strachan, Havergal, Moulton College, Ontario Ladies College, and Elwood. Of those completing high school, five per cent completed grade eleven, fifty-five per cent completed grade twelve, and forty per cent completed grade thirteen.

Students entered the school at the average age of nineteen. Most came from Canada, and within Canada, fifteen per cent came from British Columbia, ten per cent from the Prairie Provinces, fifty-five per cent from Ontario, and twenty per cent from the

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[177] Correspondence with Helen Staples Verkerk, to the author, July, 1991.

[178] Correspondence with Bette Marshall Erickson, to the author, July 5, 1991; Anne Lyster Toole, August 9, 1991; Shiga Hasagawa Ishimura, July 26, 1991; and interview with Margaret Davison Lathrop, by the author, September 28, 1991.

[179] Interview with Muriel Nelles Whyte, by the author, August 1991; and Correspondence with Gerry Dickson Rogers, to the author, July 2, 1991; Phoebe Hamilton, July 23, 1991; and Kay Cumming, October 28, 1991.

Maritimes. Several students came from England, U.S.A., France, Japan and Egypt. Through this 1926-1942 period, MES drew its student body from a large area. Stanley Ryerson, at the University of Toronto, wrote in a letter to the University's president that about eighty per cent of the students in the class of 1940, "are from outside Toronto and 20% or less from Toronto."[180] With respect to parental place of birth, seventy-eight per cent were Canadian born, ten per cent from England, eight per cent from the U.S.A., and four per cent from elsewhere. By way of mother's occupation, sixty-nine per cent were homemakers, eight per cent were deceased, eighteen per cent followed the typical female occupations of teaching (ten per cent) and nursing (eight per cent), while four per cent followed other occupations. Eight per cent of the fathers were also deceased, while thirty-three per cent owned or ran businesses, eighteen per cent were physicians, surgeons, or dentists, eleven per cent were engineers. The remaining thirty per cent of the fathers were judges, professors, provincial deputy ministers, rancher/farmers, salespersons, civil servants, teachers, lawyers, ministers, bishops, and labourer. Clearly these students came from established, and generally well-to-do families, or as one student put it "these girls were wealthy."[181]

Less than a third of the students seriously considered other options. Of these, a third considered McGill, a third considered nursing, and others considered ballet, the University of Toronto,

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[180] E. Stanley Ryerson to The Hon. and Rev. H. J. Cody, March 21, 1941, 1, UTA-DPEA, A82-1134.

[181] Interview with Nora Gauld, by the author, November 12, 1991; and correspondence with Jean Finch, to the author, November 28, 1991.

Dalhousie University, the University of Alberta, and Wellesley University in Massachusetts.

B. Student Life

Life for students was carefully regulated in the school by faculty, and in the residence by the resident director. Life was busy during their two year stay, if not from classes, then because of student teaching, officiating, and involvement in club activities.

For students, there were only two general regulations in the Calendars from 1926 to 1931, namely, that students could not "absent herself from any lecture or examination," and "may not take teaching engagements without permission from the director."[182]

The number or regulations were increased and were more paternalistic beginning in 1932: parents and students needed to be in "sympathy with the regulations affecting student life;" also, "All out-of-town students are required to live either in the School Residence, or with relatives in town. The school does not sanction the establishment of students in apartments or elsewhere unless a parent is presiding over such a household; students were required to wear "regulation costumes;" students could not teach, coach, or referee without the permission of the Director; and finally, they were "required to have texts for practically all of the theory courses."[183] In 1938 it was also

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[182] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1931-1932, 9-10.

[183] Calendar 1932-1933; to Calendar 1936-1937, 12.

noted that "it is understood that all first year students are on probation until Christmas."[184] In 1940, it was noted that "Because the course is a strenuous one requiring both physical and mental effort to carry on a full program, it is not considered advisable for students to attempt to earn their own way except in unusual cases."[185] This would certainly work against those who were not financially well off. One student who did work disliked "having to `lie' to Miss Somers about working at nights and during Christmas Holidays.... She [Somers] didn't seem to accept the fact that if I didn't work that I would have to quit MES."[186]

The School year was divided into three semesters. Typically, the first semester ran from September 1-6 to November 20-26, the second semester ran from November 21-27 to February 22-29, and the third semester ran from February 23-March 1 to May 21-26. Camp ran from the beginning of the first semester to September 28-October 3. A two week break was given at Christmas and a one week break at Easter.[187]

The daily schedule for the students was not an easy one. Assuming an average of approximately 55 days per semester, or 165 days per school year, this would mean an average of 4.49 hours of classes per day for First Year students and 6.24 hours for Second Year students. For both groups, their time was almost equally divided between Theory and Activity courses. Table 6 shows the

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[184] Calendar 1938-1939, 14.

[185] Calendar 1940-1941, 16.

[186] Correspondence with Pauline Seller, to the author, November 27, 1991.

[187] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1938-1939, 2-4.

more detailed calculations.

Table VI Average hours of instruction, 1940-1941

Year		Theory	Activity	Total
One	Total for year	364.00	376.00	740.00
	Average per day	2.35	2.43	4.77
Two	Total for year	523.00	507.00	1030.00
	Average per day	3.37	3.27	6.65
Total	Total for both years	887.00	883.00	1770.00
	Average per day	2.86	2.85	5.71

When responding to the author's question about these hours, a 1941 graduate recalled that in reality the hours were much longer.

> More than five! We were due at 415 Yonge at 9. But often we would come in at 8 o'clock for a swimming class or dance class. Then we had classes straight up to 12 o'clock. We would then rush to St. George street and have lunch. We were back in school by 1.30 and often did not get out till 5.00. Solid classes. Then we did a lot of practice teaching at night. I still see Miss Somers standing up: "And now we need six volunteers for tomorrow night." We were teaching basketball in the West End, or anything anywhere, and it was all volunteer. It was good experience. We also went into the schools a day a week in our senior year.[188]

Others stated that it "was a challenge to get changed between classes from one uniform to another and be on time (from gym to dance studio on the 4th floor, as seniors)."[189] This rushing was also recalled as some of the worst memories for another student: "Rushing to anatomy classes. That was a long fast walk! Swimming in the winter time and not taking time to dry my hair. The cold gym! Always rushing!"[190] Or as one student stated it in connection with students leaving the building to go to their practice teaching:

> To all directions you would see us go

[188] Interview with June Kennedy Labbett, March 28, 1990.

[189] Correspondence with Katharine Reed Swenson, to the author, July 27, 1991.

[190] Correspondence with Bette Marshall Erickson, to the author, July 5, 1991; and with Dorothy Buck Raphael, July 8, 1991.

About M.E.S. there's nothing slow![191]

One final comment from a student stated that

> we were absolutely exhausted.... It was too heavy a course for two years. Looking back. You were just dead tired at the end of two years. The physical classes and theory classes. About half the time was spent in each. And we had two minutes to change from our exercise uniform or tunic, a sort of bloomer thing, that you wore for swedish exercises, to get back up to the gym. If you were late you were punished in some way. They were very strict and you had to move very quickly.[192]

With respect to gymnasium costumes, the Calendars, from 1926-1930, noted that students were required to wear the school's regulation costume. It was a jumper, about half way up the thigh in length, worn with black leotards and a white blouse.[193] By 1940 the costume had switched to green suits.[194]

Throughout this last period of MES the examination and diploma requirements remained the same. They were:

> Term examinations are held in each subject, the students being required to obtain a pass standing of 50%.
>
> The Diploma will be awarded only to students obtaining a minimum of 50% in each subject, and of 60% on the total examining throughout the year.
>
> An Honor Diploma is awarded to a student who obtains 75% in each subject.[195]

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[191] Muriel Sinclair, "Practice Teaching," M.E.S. Magazine 1935-1936, 22.

[192] Interview with Elizabeth Jarvis Johnston, by the author, September 28, 1991; and correspondence with Florence Riley, December 6, 1991; and Jean King Morrison, December 31, 1991.

[193] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1930-1931, 9-10; "Annual P.T. Exhibit Delights Audience," Globe, (27 May 1927): 14; and Patty Stern lent the author her costume, issued in 1939.

[194] "Margaret Eaton Girls' Annual Program," Globe and Mail (20 May 1940): 13.

[195] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1938-1940, 9-15.

The only deviation from the above was a minor change in 1940 in which the "60% on the total examining" was elevated to 65%.[196]

Awards were also given. The following awards were listed in the 1926 Calendar: The Camp Tanamakoon Cup for Land Sports, and another for Water Sports; The Margaret Eaton School Athletic Association Cup for Tennis; The Edith K. Amsden Cup for Swimming; The Athletic Association Pin, "offered to all students who obtain eighty per cent, in all the practical Physical Training subjects, and the theory of those subjects, during the two years of their course;" The Gold Medal for the highest standing in practice and theory in the graduating class.[197]

From 1927 to 1930, the Amsden Cup and Association Pin were not listed.[198] From 1931 to 1932, the only award listed was the Gold Medal for highest standing.[199] For the remaining period the Gold medal was awarded, plus "The Charlotte A. Kaulbach Silver Medal awarded for general proficiency, leadership and service to the school."[200] The recipients of these awards are listed in Appendix F2.

Aside from residence fees, there were six other costs MES students faced. These fees were for: tuition, books, gymnasium costume and equipment, Athletic Association subscription, a locker fee, and an examination fee. The tuition was $300 per year until 1933--approximately twenty to thirty per cent of the

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196 Calendar 1940-1941, 17.

197 Calendar 1926-1927, 10.

198 Calendar 1927-1928; to Calendar 1930-1931, 10.

199 Calendar 1931-1932, 9; and Calendar 1932-1933, 12.

200 Calendar 1934-1935; to Calendar 1940-1941, 12-17.

salary level of an MES faculty member. In 1933, a ten per cent discount was given to those who paid at the beginning of each semester, making the tuition rate $270. A suggested amount for books was not to exceed twenty-five dollars until 1930 when this amount was raised to fifty dollars, and raised again in 1932 to seventy-five dollars--drastic increases. Gymnasium costume and equipment began in 1926 at fifty dollars, and was raised to seventy-five dollars in 1932. The Athletic Association subscription, or student fee as it was called in 1940, remained at three dollars through the period except for 1940 when it was raised to ten dollars. The locker fee ranged from one dollar to three dollars during this period, and the examination fee ranged from seventy-five cents to five dollars.[201]

Based on interviews and correspondence with graduates the parents paid for these women to attend MES, with the exception of scholarship winners and a few others. It was stated that "a summer job was compulsory (in the field)," and in most cases this was either non-paying, or only room and board plus a little extra which "never exceeded $50.00."[202] Obviously a summer job was not embarked upon to pay tuition. In one instance one graduate wrote: "In the 1930's jobs were not there--also I recall my father saying it was wrong to take jobs from others."[203] The

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[201] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1940-1941, 10-18.

[202] Correspondence with Gerry Dickson Rogers, to the author, July 2, 1991; Bette Marshall Erickson, July 5, 1991; Barbara Halliday MacDonald, August 13, 1991; Phoebe Hamilton, July 23, 1991; Winnifred McLennan Johnston, September 21, 1991; and with Dorothy Forsyth Sangster, July 22, 1991; and an interview with Muriel Sinclair Osburn, by the author, August 16, 1991.

[203] Correspondence with Gwen Baalim Murray, to the author, August 11, 1991; and with Kay Cumming Roberts, October 28, 1991.

following example from 1933, illustrates a typical summer employment list for MES students.

> last summer alone, when our school was small, the 1932-33 students served 5 Canadian Girls in Training Camps, 3 Girl Guide, and 3 Y.W.C.A. Camps. In addition, 5 were counsellors at Fresh Air Camps such as Bolton, 2 taught swimming and 8 were counsellors or sub-counsellors at large private camps. To summarize, 17 out of 25 students had summer positions and served 17 different camps or pools.[204]

The number of students enroled at MES is difficult to determine without class lists and financial records. Table 7 indicates,[205] the number of graduates and full-time students. In addition to the full-time students the part-time courses also registered many people. Table 8 provides an example of the number of part-time students, the tuition charged, and the class in which they were registered.

Table 7

Graduates and Full-time Students, 1926-1942

YEAR	GRADUATES	FULL-TIME STUDENTS
1926 - 27	16	33
1927 - 28	13	33
1928 - 29	18	45
1929 - 30	20	51
1930 - 31	25	50
1931 - 32	16	39
1932 - 33	13	?
1933 - 34	11	31
1934 - 35	19	?
1935 - 36	16	32
1936 - 37	14	34
1937 - 38	19	52
1938 - 39	27	53
1939 - 40	18	60

[204] Mary Hamilton, "The School 1926-33, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[205] Calendars from 1926 to 1940; E. Stanley Ryerson to The Hon. and Rev. H. J. Cody, March 21, 1941, 1, UTA-DPEA, A82-1134; and The-News-of-the-School VII, No. 1 (September 1939): 1.

1940 - 41	31	?
1941 - 42	27	?
TOTAL	303	

Table 8

Part-time Registrations, 1926-1927

No.	Paid	Class
22	$ 5.00	Children's Swimming
35	$ 8.00	Children's Dance
1	$ 6.00	" "
5	$ 4.00	" "
13	$ 6.00	Aesthetic Dance
22	$ 6.00	Folk Dance
5	$ 4.00	" "
4	$ 3.00	" "
2	$ 1.00	" "
7	$ 8.00	Clog Dance
12	$10.00	Physical Training--Evening
26	$ 6.00	" "
3	$ 3.00	" "
60	$ 6.00	Swimming - Evening
21	$ 8.00	" - Day
37	$ 5.00	" - "
9	$ 6.00	Life Saving
38		Dalcroze (from $1.00 to $100.00)
5		Private Lessons ($4.00, $5.00, $9.00, $12.00, and $20.00)
2		Gymnastics
329	TOTAL REGISTRATIONS[206]	

Student life was demanding at MES, but also enjoyable. Apparently the popular version of the school song, written by Madge Brewster ('27), not approved by administration, went as follows:

> Forty years on holy smoke just imagine
> Won't it be awful to be old and fat?
> Grandchildren screaming and yelling around you,
> Or, sitting all alone with your parrot and your cat.

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[206] AO-EC, Series 127, Volume 743, "Cash Book (1926-1930)."

Then you will say: `It's my candid opinion,
The Younger generation is going to the dogs,
Just the other day
With my own eyes I saw it--
Several young girls drinking wicked eggnogs!!'

Old and fat, old and fat, old and fat,
Will we ever be resigned to our fate--
Sedentary life and putting on weight.

This parody became so entrenched that it was necessary for those in authority to substitute Robert Louis Stevenson's "Land of our birth," as the formal school hymn.[207]

The Calendars from 1932 on described the desired social life for its students. From 1932 to 1934 it was noted that MES did not alone intend "to prepare young women for teaching, but to develop appreciations of other fields, and to broaden the interests of a prospective teacher for her own living." Students were encouraged to attend a variety of lectures, concerts, and art exhibitions. Furthermore, the school encouraged "a program of intra-mural games and play days with other schools or organizations."[208]

The 1936 Calendar added a section on hobbies to this statement. The Calendar stated: "Among other things dramatics, handcraft and choral singing make an interesting contrast to the regular work of the course."[209]

The Athletic Association sponsored such activities as: horseback riding, roller skating, ice skating, a week-end of skiing, intramural games and play days with other city schools. It

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[207] Jackson, 24-25.

[208] Calendar 1932-1933, 5; and Calendar 1934-1935, 6.

[209] Calendar 1936-1937, 5.

should be noted that there were no regularly scheduled matches.[210] One reads of an MES basketball team beating the faculty in a fun game,[211] and beating a team from the University of Western Ontario, coached by MES graduates--although more was said about the cheering, tunics, player names, and the post-game tea than the actual contest.[212] School teams also played alumnae teams in lacrosse and field hockey.[213] Perhaps this was because MES was neither a high school nor a university and therefore had no convenient competition. However, it is more likely, considering Somers' disposition towards "A girl for every sport and every girl in a sport," that her non-competitive position on female athletics had a greater affect.[214] The 1938 to 1940 Calendar comments are similar.[215] These cultural events and hobbies were not activities available to all during the depression years--these were women with some money.

Students also organized dances[216] and other forms of entertainment. In May 1940, the students attended a dance, and a

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[210] Calendar 1936-1937, 5.

[211] "Faculty versus Students," The Margaret Eaton School 1934-1935 Yearbook, 16.

[212] "Margaret Eaton vs University of Western Ontario," M.E.S. Magazine 1935-1936, 16.

[213] "Lacrosse Game," and "Field Hockey," M.E.S. Magazine 1935-1936, 17.

[214] Florence Somers, Principles of Women's Athletics (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1930), 86-91.

[215] Calendar 1938-1939, 6; and Calendar 1940-1941, 4.

[216] "Miss Mary R. Walker," (9 February 1940): 8; "Margaret Eaton Dance at Granite Club," Globe and Mail (9 February 1940): 8; and "Assist with Arrangements for Dance," (28 February 1941); "Miss Ann Thomson and Miss Jean King," (26 February 1942), file of the author, received from Pauline Seller.

tea party, and went on a trip to Niagara Falls in honour of the graduates.[217]

When classes were over for the summer, students selected jobs in their field to develop their skills. In the Summer of 1940, forty-five students worked in the field. Of these students forty-one worked in camps, three on playgrounds and one at a pool.[218]

Based on interviews and correspondence with MES graduates, there was an appreciation for their life at MES. A specific aspect of student life that was most appreciated was the camaraderie among the students and also with faculty. Students appreciated the personal attention received on account of the smallness of the school, and also the "mingling with girls from all across Canada."[219] As another graduate put it: "Staff and girls seemed like one big happy family."[220] Several appreciated the stimulation of a large city, particularly the opportunities to experience the "arts."

The out-of-town students were provided a residence and were required to either live there or with "relatives in town."[221] From 1926 to 1931, the Calendars advised students that: "Residential accommodation assures to out-of-town students comfortable quarters and wholesome food during their years of

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[217] "Society Notes," Globe and Mail (13 May 1940): 12; "Margaret Eaton Girls' Annual Program," Globe and Mail (20 May 1940): 13.

[218] The-News-of-the-School VIII, No. 1 (September 1940): 1.

[219] Correspondence with Gwen Baalim Murray, to the author, August 11, 1991.

[220] Correspondence with Betty Cranston Robinson, to the author, July 15, 1991.

[221] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1931-1932, 9-10.

study."[222] By 1932, the Calendar section on the residence noted that it was supervised by a "dean of residence."[223] From 1934-1936, it was added that the "living of the students is carefully supervised, while at the same time the general rules of the house are under the control of student government. The house is under the direction of Mrs. F. G. Marriott."[224] By 1938, the residence moved to "99 St. George Street, formerly the residence of St. Hilda's College," and was still referred to as the St. George House.[225] The cost for living in the residence, for room and board, was $414 from 1931 to 1937,[226] and decreased to $366 from 1938 to 1940.[227] These residences consisted of large houses, for example:

> By 1936 the residence, which was still known as St. George House, had been moved to 186 St. George Street. Finally, in 1938, due to each building in turn being required by the owners for other purposes, St. George House opened at 99 St. George Street. This house had formerly been the residence of St. Hilda's College of the University of Toronto.[228]

When MES amalgamated with the University of Toronto in 1941, one of the wishes was to preserve the residences for women students. Ryerson made this clear in his letter to Rev. H. J. Cody, president of the University at the time.

> A residence, St. George House, 99 St. George Street, has been rented by Miss Somers personally from Trinity

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[222] Calendar 1926-1927; to Calendar 1931-1932, 4.

[223] Calendar 1932-1933, 5.

[224] Calendar 1934-1935, 5; and Calendar 1936-1937, 3.

[225] Calendar 1938-1939, 7; and Calendar 1940-1941, 9.

[226] Calendar 1931-1932; to Calendar 1936-1937, 13.

[227] Calendar 1938-1939, 15-16; and Calendar 1940-1941, 17-18.

[228] Jackson, 26.

> University at $150.00 a month. This will house 33 students.... The income from residence charges paid by the students has more than covered the cost of maintenance. The request is that this residence be continued for women students now in the Margaret Eaton School....[229]

In 1942, Somers wrote that "for the next year at least, the residence at 99 St. George Street will be the residence of women students of the new school."[230]

In general, those students who were interviewed appreciated residence life. Several students especially appreciated Sunday's at the residence, the afternoon teas, where one could bring a guest--"a male, if we had the nerve to expose him to being scrutinized"[231]--and the expectation of attending a church of one's choice.[232] It didn't matter which church, but "we were expected to go. There was no force. But Miss Hamilton was a very devout person herself and I think so was Miss Somers. The staff underneath was sort of leading us in that direction. We never talked about it either. I never talked about it. We had to say grace in the residence...."[233] But although one person wrote that the residence life was "great and through it all we had all the benefits of a good `finishing school,'"[234] there were

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[229] E. Stanley Ryerson to The Hon. and Rev. H. J. Cody, March 21, 1941, 1-2, UTA-DEPA, A82-1134.

[230] "Margaret Eaton School Merged with University of Toronto," Globe and Mail (23 May 1942): 12.

[231] Correspondence with Ann Thomson, to the author, November 26, 1991.

[232] Interview with Eleanor Keyes Kay, by the author, November 19, 1991.

[233] Interview with Margaret Davison Lathrop, by the author, September 28, 1991.

[234] Correspondence with Gerry Dickson Rogers, to the author, July 2, 1991.

others less positive about the finishing aspect of the residence and the school. For example, at least three women disapproved of wearing hats and gloves to and from school, and being fined one dollar for not wearing them. Another student felt the "residence dinner was rather too formal," while another student felt the "imposed curfews were far too rigid for post-secondary gals (1:30 Friday, 12 midnight Saturday, and 10:30 Sundays)."[235]

Mrs. Marriott, nicknamed the "warden," was negatively described by several students as "ruling with an iron tongue." She was described as "a very proper matron," with "high society in her mind," who "liked `her girls,' as she called us, to behave ourselves as young ladies." One graduate, in her recollection of her worst memory at MES wrote that there was not any "except perhaps being embarrassed for some poor girl who was being criticized by Mrs. Marriott for picking up the salt and pepper--both in the same hand! [sic] to pass to someone at the residence dining table.... Mrs. Marriott our house-mother was a terrible snob!" Or as another student recalled, "Miss Marriott was tough. You didn't reach for anything, you behaved yourselves. Manners were very important to her."[236]

A few students who did not live in residence felt left

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[235] Correspondence with Sylva Macklin Scott, to the author, July 22, 1991; Helen Staples Verkerk, July, 1991; Pauline Seller, November 27, 1991; Margaret Ross, January 1992; Ruth Corner, August, 1991; Anne Thomson, November 26, 1991; and Ruth Scott Prophet, January 14, 1992.

[236] Interview with Muriel Nelles Whyte, by the author, August 1991; Nora Gauld Wistow, November 12, 1991; Margaret Davison Lathrop, September 28, 1991; and correspondence with Winnifred McLennan, to the author, September 21, 1991.

out.[237] At least two students felt this caused discrimination,[238] one of these suggested she "felt the principal etc. were annoyed to feel they had no control over my comings and goings. This showed up drastically in my last year."[239]

Student government, according to Jackson, was introduced to the school in 1926 by Hamilton. Its main function was overseeing various clubs at MES, for Riding, Outing, Literary, Badminton, Music, Camera, Dramatic, Glee, and Handcraft.[240]

Changes, on account of an increase in the number of students, were made in 1934. At the time it

> seemed wise to have a representative group of students to conduct the affairs of Student Government, rather than the Head Girl and Proctors only. The Student Council was organized, consisting of the Head Girl, Class Proctors and an additional student representative from each class, the Head Girl and Assistant of the residence, and a staff advisor.[241]

In 1938, the Riding Club, and Literature Club, had only three members, the Dance Club and the Music Club had "many members." Though one might think of Shakespeare and Milton one thinks of a literary club, but, by this time the Literary Club was more interested in practical literature for their field and

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[237] Correspondence with Margaret Stewart, to the author, November 25, 1991.

[238] Interview with Eleanor Keyes Kay, by the author, November 19, 1991.

[239] Correspondence with Carol Hendry Duffus, to the author, July 26, 1991.

[240] Jackson, 26; The Margaret Eaton School 1934-1935 Yearbook; "The Activities Association Clubs," 1938-1939 M.E.S. Amies, n.p.

[241] Florence Somers, "Report of the Director of the Margaret Eaton School," May 1935, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto;" also The Margaret Eaton School 1934-1935 Yearbook; "Athletic Banquet Programme," (19 March 1941) and (14 May 1942), file of the author, received from Pauline Seller; and "Athletic Association Banquet 1941," M.E.S. Amies, n.p.

when they displayed a book table the books dealt with camp poetry.[242]

An Association responsibility was to organize one assembly a month; assemblies were held every Friday.[243] At assemblies, speakers explained such topics as the Y.W.C.A. war work, the war work in a private school, the war work of the Eaton Girls' Club War Auxiliary, singing, recitals, and sport exhibitions.[244]

The Music Club provided the program for the Annual Activity Association Banquet. The programs included songs reinforcing the positive use of music such as "I Strike it up Tabor" by Thomas Weelkes, and sacred music was also performed: "The Lord's My Shepherd," and the familiar "Jesu, Joy of Man's Desiring."[245]

The clubs also prepared the MES Christmas services and teas. The 1938 Christmas service was typical: Florence Somers read the Christmas story, Florence Richardson led the music, Madage Annetts led the carols and Dorothy Goulding led the Christmas play which was a symbolic dance by three members of the Dance Club.[246]

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[242] Charlotte H. Layton, The-News-of-the-School (March 1939): 3.

[243] The-News-of-the-School VI, No. 2 (December 1938): 2.

[244] "Assembly," The Margaret Eaton School 1934-1935 Yearbook, 19; Florence Somers, "Report of the Director of the Margaret Eaton School," May 1935, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto;" "Assemblies," M.E.S. Magazine 1935-1936, 14; "Assemblies," 1937-1938 M.E.S. Amies, 33; "Assemblies," 1938-1939 M.E.S. Amies, n.p.; "Athletic Banquet Programme," (19 March 1941) and (14 May 1942), file of the author, received from Pauline Seller; and "Athletic Association Banquet 1941," M.E.S. Amies, n.p.; and The-News-of-the-School VII, No. 3 (March 1941): 1.

[245] "Activity Association Banquet, May 20, 1939," UTA-DEPA, A87-0027/034; and in author's file received from Winnifred McLennan.

[246] "MES Christmas Service and Tea," The-News-of-the-School VII, No. 1 (September 1939): 4; and The-News-of-the-School VIII, No. 3 (March 1940): 4.

One of the first annual school dances was held in February of 1938, in which the MES students invited male company;[247] Marjorie Leonard ('38) was the convener.[248] Subsequent dances were held,[249] and several of the men in attendance later married MES students. Some of the guests to these evenings included Mrs. C.E. Burden and R.Y. Eaton.[250]

C. Commencement Exercises

The "Annual Demonstrations" were considered to be an important opportunity for students to display their work. Typically these events were held at the Central Y.W.C.A.,[251] Hart House[252], or the Mutual and Varsity Arenas.[253] These demonstrations focused on dance, gymnastics, ice skating and

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[247] "Margaret Eaton Pupils at Eglington Hunt Club For Their Annual Dance," Globe and Mail (10 February 1938): 9.

[248] "Dance Convener--Miss Marjorie G. Leonard," Globe and Mail (10 February 1938): 9.

[249] "Convener--Miss Adrienne Adams," Evening Telegram (10 February 1939): 8; "Miss Mary R. Walker," Globe and Mail (9 February 1940): 8; "Margaret Eaton Girls Plan Informal Dance," Globe and Mail (8 November 1940): 11; and "Miss Roberta Hill," Globe and Mail (25 February 1941): 10.

[250] "Margaret Eaton Dance at Granite Club," Globe and Mail (9 February 1940): 8; and "School Dance at Granite Club," Evening Telegram (9 February 1940): 10.

[251] "Annual P.T. Exhibit Delights Audience," Globe, (27 May 1927): 14.

[252] "Margaret Eaton Girls Give Fine Program," Globe (21 May 1935): 8.

[253] Jackson, 24; "Margaret Eaton School," Globe, (21 May 1929): 22; "Students Give Fine Program," Globe (19 May 1934): 8; "Young Ladies Ready to Dance on the Green," Mail and Empire (18 May 1934): 7; and "Margaret Eaton Pupils Conclude Skating Term," Globe and Mail (1 March 1939): 11.

games. They were always under the direction of the faculty and alumnae,[254] while many members of the family, friends and others, sometimes numbering several thousand, reportedly watched the students with delight.[255] Reviewers typically concerned themselves with the students' "co-ordination, grace, skill and poise which the students had learned in their months of training."[256]

Though the main annual demonstration preceded graduation, there were also demonstrations at the end of a course of study. Swimming held such events in which the program included fancy [synchronized] swimming, diving, strokes, games, and life-saving methods.[257] There were also creative[258] and modern dance

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[254] "Miss Ruth Whiteley," Globe and Mail (20 May 1941): 11.

[255] "Annual P.T. Exhibit Delights Audience," Globe, (27 May 1927): 14; "Margaret Eaton School," Globe, (21 May 1929): 22; "Thousands Applaud Dances and Drills," Globe, (28 May 1930): 17; "Margaret Eaton Girls in Gym Demonstration," Globe, (27 May 1931): 16; "Students Give Fine Program," Globe (19 May 1934): 8; "Margaret Eaton Girls Give Fine Program," Globe (21 May 1935): 8; "Society Notes," Globe and Mail (28 April 1939): 8; "Society Notes," Globe and Mail (28 April 1939): 10; and Lawrence Mason, "Brief Mention," Globe and Mail (29 April 1939): 25; Lawrence Mason, "Brief Mention," Globe and Mail (6 May 1939): 23; "Many Parts of Canada Contribute to Demonstrations at Margaret Eaton School," Globe and Mail (26 May 1939): 12; "Society Notes," Globe and Mail (22 May 1940): 10; and "M. Eaton Students Demonstrate Work," Globe and Mail (30 March 1942): 10.

[256] "Many Parts of Canada Contribute to Demonstrations at Margaret Eaton School," Globe and Mail (26 May 1939): 12; and "Demonstration of Physical Education, May 25, 1939," UTA-DEPA, Athletics, A87-0027/034, also found in a file by the author received from Winnifred McLennan.

[257] "Swimming Program," Globe (9 April 1932): 16; "Swimming Demonstration 1935," M.E.S. Magazine 1935-1936, 18; "Swimming Demonstration," Globe (4 April 1936): 8; and "Swimming Demonstration 1936," M.E.S. Magazine 1935-1936, 19.

[258] UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 3, "Margaret Eaton Recital Programmes - 1932, 1936."

programs.[259] Figure Skating exhibitions were also held.[260] A skating program would include such things as: "Waltzing, Class Routine, Guest Skaters [Jean Carrie and Wande], Folk Dance, Sextet, A Wee Bit of Comedy and Pairs."[261] In 1934 students also gave a gymnastic demonstration as part of the Y.W.C.A.'s health week.[262]

The commencement demonstrations offered more elaborate and varied programs. The 1927 demonstration provides an example of these. The reviewer wrote that the program was "interesting and varied" and "the girls showed an enthusiasm and precision which denoted a love for their work and excellent training." The program included:

> a character clog, the original work of one of the senior students, was one of the most popular features... rollicking singing games... and dances were enjoyed by both audiences and participants.... Swedish remedial exercises, club swinging, wand exercises, Swedish gymnastics, apparatus work, and elementary class fencing, were featured in the first half of the program. Marching tactics, under the direction of Miss Mary Hamilton, director of the

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[259] Jackson, 26; "In Modern Dance Recital," Globe (2 May 1936): 12; and UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 3, "Margaret Eaton Recital Programmes--1932, 1936;" "Recital of the Modern Dance," Globe and Mail (18 April 1938); "Society Notes," Globe and Mail (20 April 1939): 10; "Dr. Masons Column," (22 April 1939), (25 April 1939), and (6 May 1939); Telegram (1 May 1939); and the Star (6 May 1939); and "A Recital of the Modern Dance by Students of The Margaret Eaton School," (29 April 1939), in a file by the author received from Winnifred McLennan.

[260] "Skating Exhibition at Varsity Arena," Globe (3 March 1934): 8; "Skating," M.E.S. Magazine 1935-1936, 18; and "Margaret Eaton Pupils Conclude Skating Term," Globe and Mail (1 March 1939): 11.

[261] "Figure Skating Demonstration, March 27, 1941," UTA-DEPA, A87-0027/034.

[262] "Demonstrations and Talk at Y.W.C.A. Health Program," Globe (9 January 1934): 11; and "Health Week Brings Crowd to Y.W.C.A.," Globe (13 January 1934): 14.

school, were unusually fine.[263]

Subsequent demonstrations included Danish gymnastics,[264] "pyramids and tumbling," "the interpretation of children's games,"[265] and various sporting feats, including archery.[266] Beginning in 1934, the Somers' period, demonstrations included practice teaching,[267] and teaching progressions in activities such as social dancing,[268] and athletics.[269]

One of the more memorable events of the 1941 graduation was the interpretation in rhythmic movement and speech of a poem

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[263] "Annual P.T. Exhibit Delights Audience," Globe, (27 May 1927): 14.

[264] "Margaret Eaton School," Globe, (21 May 1929): 22.

[265] "Thousands Applaud Dances and Drills," Globe, (28 May 1930): 17.

[266] "Margaret Eaton Girls in Gym Demonstration," Globe, (27 May 1931): 16.

[267] "Students Give Fine Program," Globe (19 May 1934): 8; and "Young Ladies Ready to Dance on the Green," Mail and Empire (18 May 1934): 7.

[268] "Margaret Eaton Girls Give Fine Program," Globe (21 May 1935): 8; "Hart House Demonstration," M.E.S. Magazine 1935-1936, 18; and "Demonstration of Physical Education--20 May 1935--Programme," file of the author, received from Netta Morrison.

[269] 1938--"Modern Creative and Social Dancing Featured at Margaret Eaton School," Globe (19 May 1938): 13; "Demonstration of Physical Education--The School Gymnasium--May Eighteenth and Nineteenth--Nineteen-Thirty-Eight," in a file by the author received from Winnifred McLennan; The News-of-the-School V, No 3 (March 1938): 1, and V, No. 4 (June 1938): 1-2; and "Demonstration 1938," 1938-1939 M.E.S. Amies, n.p.;--1939--"Many Parts of Canada Contribute to Demonstrations at Margaret Eaton School," Globe and Mail (26 May 1939): 12; and "Demonstration of Physical Education, May 25, 1939," UTA-DEPA, Athletics, A87-0027/034, also found in a file by the author received from Winnifred McLennan;--1940--"Margaret Eaton Girls' Annual Program," Globe and Mail (20 May 1940): 13; and "Demonstration of Physical Education, May 18, 1940," UTA-DEPA, A87-0027/034;--1940--"Demonstration of Physical Education," Telegram (23 May 1940);--1941--"Eaton School Program," Globe and Mail (17 May 1941): 14; "The 1941 Demonstration," M.E.S. Amies, n.p.; and "Demonstration Programme," (22 May 1941), file of the author, received from Eleanor Keyes.

called "Quest." This poem was written by Elizabeth Wardley Raymer, a member of the school staff (see Appendix I). In a 1990 interview of a graduate of 1941, the graduate could clearly remember these demonstrations and particularly Raymer's poem. June Kennedy Labbett said:

> We used to have a big demonstration every year; gymnastics, stunts, games, everything. It was held at the Eaton Auditorium, which is no longer, but we would do archery across the stage in the auditorium if you can believe it. Anyways, this poem, the voice group spoke, they had us all in Alto, Soprano, da da da da, and the Dance group danced to it, it was really effective. Elizabeth wrote it. Everyone laughs because when we get together at the reunion usually one of the first things we say is "Youth, we were given and precious we hold, we must strengthen that gift one hundred fold." I can almost go through it still....[270]

The 1942 demonstration, the last graduating class of MES, was jointly performed by students of MES and of the School of Physical and Health Education of the University of Toronto. The demonstration was held in MES's gymnasium and included apparatus work, marching, "fitness at the home front," low-organization games, and various dances.[271]

Usually on the day of graduation, alumni were hosts at a luncheon for the graduates. They were held in prestigious locations such as the Royal York Hotel,[272] the Granite Club,[273] the

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[270] Labbett.

[271] "M. Eaton Students Demonstrate Work," Globe and Mail (30 March 1942): 10; and "Programme," file of the author, received from Pauline Seller.

[272] "Social Events," Globe, (27 May 1930): 17.

[273] "Social Events," Globe, (28 May 1931): 14; "Invitation," (1941), file of the author, received from Eleanor Keyes; and "Invitation," (16 May 1942), file of the author, received from Pauline Seller.

Boulevard Club,[274] and Wymilwood.[275] The guests included faculty and special guests such as Emma Scott Nasmith who attended the 1930 luncheon,[276] gave a short address at the 1931 luncheon, and attended again in 1933.[277] Another noted guest was Dora Mavor Moore ('11) who gave a toast for the absent members at the 1934 luncheon.[278] These annual alumnae luncheons continued long after the school had ceased, until at least 1950.[279]

The graduation exercises included an address from one or two speakers, plus a speech by a valedictorian. A portion of the program was devoted to "handing over the reigns of student government."[280] The Director presented the diplomas, certificates and awards, and read a year-end report. Following the graduation a short reception would be held in which faculty, staff, and junior students served the guests.[281]

It was customary for the students to select the valedictorian. However, one valedictorian, who was less wealthy than the others, recalled that the administration would rather have had a different valedictorian, "because it would have meant

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[274] "Invitation," (13 May 1939), file of the author, received from Eleanor Keyes.

[275] "Social Events," Globe (19 May 1934): 8.

[276] "Social Events," Globe, (27 May 1930): 17.

[277] "Social Events," Globe (26 May 1933): 14.

[278] "Social Events," Globe (19 May 1934): 8.

[279] "Alumnae Dinner Invitation," 19 May 1945, 17 May 1947, 11 May 1949, and 1 May 1950, file of the author, received from Eleanor Keyes.

[280] "M. Eaton School Class of Sixteen," Globe and Mail (22 May 1940): 10; "M. Eaton School Has 29 Graduates," Globe and Mail (24 May 1941): 14.

[281] "Social Events," Globe, (29 May 1931): 14.

more good publicity for them. I was afraid I was no asset to them."[282] The valedictorians included, Doris Lawlor ('30), Bettie Tingley ('32), Elizabeth Gunsaulus ('33), Nora Gauld ('34), Mill Lillian Ross (35), Jean Meridith ('40), Dorothy Buck ('41), and Dorothy Gray ('42).[283]

With respect to the graduation speakers, most of the graduation speakers during Hamilton's principalship were clergy, such as: Rev. Frank Langford, Director of Religious Education of the United Church;[284] Rev. Trevor Davies, D.D.;[285] Rev. Stanley Russell, M.A.;[286] Rev. Principal McElheran of Wycliffe College;[287] Rev. Harold W. Lang;[288]
Rev. Dr. W.H. Sedgewick and T. DeLury, M.A., LL.D.[289] The

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[282] Interview with Nora Gaul Wistow, by the author, November 12, 1991.

[283] "Playing the Game Advised by Pastor at Commencement," Globe, (29 May 1930): 16; "Margaret Eaton School Graduation Ceremonies," Globe (28 May 1932): 16; "Margaret Eaton Holds Graduation," Globe (27 May 1933): 16; "Graduates Honored at Margaret Eaton," Globe (23 May 1934): 8; "Margaret Eaton Girls are Awarded Diplomas," Globe (22 May 1935): 8; "M. Eaton School Class of Sixteen," Globe and Mail (22 May 1940): 10; "M. Eaton School Has 29 Graduates," Globe and Mail (24 May 1941): 14; and "Margaret Eaton School Merged with University of Toronto," Globe and Mail (23 May 1942): 12.

[284] "Graduates Advised at Commencement," Globe, (23 May 1929): 18.

[285] "Social Events," Globe, (17 May 1930): 20.

[286] "Playing the Game Advised by Pastor at Commencement," Globe, (29 May 1930): 16; and "Students Graduate at Margaret Eaton," Globe, (29 May 1931): 14.

[287] "Margaret Eaton School Graduation Ceremonies," Globe (28 May 1932): 16.

[288] "Margaret Eaton Holds Graduation," Globe (27 May 1933): 16.

[289] "Graduates Honored at Margaret Eaton," Globe (23 May 1934): 8; "Graduation at M.E.S.," Evening Telegram (22 May 1934): 8; "Eaton School Grads Receive Diplomas," Daily Star (23 May 1934): 14; and "Commencement 1934--Programme," file of the author, received from Nora Gauld.

speakers during Somer's principalship, tended to be school principals and University department heads, such as: George Pidgeon, a minister at Bloor Street United;[290] Dr. Cody from the University of Toronto;[291] W.J. Dunlop, who spoke in 1937[292] and 1940,[293] was the Director of the University of Toronto Extension programs and active in the co-operative dialogue between the University and MES; Dr. C.C. Goldring, Superintendent of Schools for Toronto;[294] and Joseph McCulley, headmaster of Pickering College.[295] Two women spoke during Somer's principalship, Jessie Macpherson, Dean of Women at Victoria College,[296] and Gertrude

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[290] He was influenced by "Scottish liberal Biblical Scholars," the United Church's first moderator, and active in several interdenominational and international Christian organizations. Brian Fraser, "George Campbell Pidgeon Collection--Finders Aid," VUA; and John Grant, George Pidgeon, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962).

[291] "16 Students Of Margaret Eaton Get Diplomas," Globe (23 May 1936): 8; "Honoured At Margaret Eaton Graduation," Evening Telegram (22 May 1936); "Graduating Class at Margaret Eaton Hall," Evening Telegram (22 May 1936); and "Commencement Programme, May 22, 1936," UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 3, "The Margaret Eaton School (D.M.M. as Alumnae) Various items."

[292] "Graduation, May 26," Globe (22 May 1937): 17; "Happiness, Originality, Loyalty Advised for Margaret Eaton Girls," Globe (27 May 1937): 10; "Graduates Win Awards," Evening Telegram (27 May 1937); "Margaret Eaton School Holds Graduation," Evening Telegram (27 May 1937); "Fourteen Receive Graduation Diplomas," Daily Star (27 May 1937); "Graduation '37," 1937-1938 M.E.S. Amies, 25; and "Commencement 1937--Programme," file of the author, received from Eleanor Keyes.

[293] "M. Eaton School Class of Sixteen," Globe and Mail (22 May 1940): 10; "Graduates at Margaret Eaton School," Evening Telegram (22 May 1940); and "M. E. School Graduation," Daily Star (21 May 1940).

[294] The News-of-the-School V, No 4 (June 1938): 1-2.

[295] "Selfish Attitude Bad for Canada," Globe and Mail (27 May 1939): 10; "M.E.S. Girls Get Diplomas," Daily Star (26 May 1939); "Margaret Eaton School Graduating Class," Evening Telegram (26 May 1939); and "Commencement Programme, May 26, 1939," UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 3, "The Margaret Eaton School (D.M.M. as Alumnae) Various items."

[296] "Margaret Eaton Girls are Awarded Diplomas," Globe (22 May 1935): 8; "Pretty Girl Graduates at Margaret Eaton School," Evening Telegram (22 May 1935); "Girls Get Diplomas at Margaret Eaton," Daily

Rutherford, Principal of the United Church Training School.[297]

Since the school was devoted only to physical education, the speeches stressed the importance of physical education. During Hamilton's principalship graduation speakers emphasized the role of physical education as a "complement to intellectual and religious teaching to make a whole life;"[298] as "a necessary part of religious training;"[299] as a "noble profession;"[300] and as an important opportunity to teach people to play.[301] One speaker expected the graduates influence to "go throughout the world."[302] Another speaker used theology and argued that Christ magnified the body by coming to the earth and taking on a physical body.[303] The graduates were encouraged to be "graceful ladies;"[304]

Star (21 May 1935); "Graduation 1935," M.E.S. Magazine 1935-1936, 12; and "Commencement 1935--programme," file of the author, received from Netta Morrison.

[297] "M. Eaton School Has 29 Graduates," Globe and Mail (24 May 1941): 14; "Graduation Programme", File of the author, received from Pauline Seller; "Graduation 1941," M.E.S. Amies, n.p.; and "M. E. School Gives Awards," Daily Star (23 May 1941).

[298] "Graduates Advised at Commencement," Globe, (23 May 1929): 18; and "Playing the Game Advised by Pastor at Commencement," Globe, (29 May 1930): 16.

[299] "Students Graduate at Margaret Eaton," Globe, (29 May 1931): 14; and "Margaret Eaton School Graduation Ceremonies," Globe (28 May 1932): 16.

[300] "Playing the Game Advised by Pastor at Commencement," Globe, (29 May 1930): 16.

[301] "Margaret Eaton Holds Graduation," Globe (27 May 1933): 16.

[302] "Students Graduate at Margaret Eaton," Globe, (29 May 1931): 14.

[303] "Margaret Eaton School Graduation Ceremonies," Globe (28 May 1932): 16.

[304] "Margaret Eaton Holds Graduation," Globe (27 May 1933): 16.

appreciating beauty;[305] and willing to perfect their work, sacrifice for the future, work without immediate rewards, get along with others, and maintain sustained growth.[306]

The speakers under Somers' principalship spoke less about the relationship between physical education and Christianity, and more on such topics as: encouraging the graduates to bring out the best in "girls," and to pursue their goals, recognizing disappointments as "stepping-stones onward;"[307] noting the importance of physical education in realizing "the old Greek ideal of a balance between body and intellect;"[308] and developing the "right kind of personality," which consisted of cheerfulness, originality, driving power, and "loyalty to one's principles and one's superiors."[309] With World War II beginning the speeches shifted to national and international concerns, such as: Canada's selfish and narrow nationalistic policy of "shutting its

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[305] "Graduates Honored at Margaret Eaton," Globe (23 May 1934): 8; "Graduation at M.E.S.," Evening Telegram (22 May 1934): 8; "Margaret Eaton School Graduates Receive Awards," Evening Telegram (23 May 1934): 9; and "Eaton School Grads Receive Diplomas," Daily Star (23 May 1934): 14.

[306] Ibid.

[307] "Margaret Eaton Girls are Awarded Diplomas," Globe (22 May 1935): 8; "Pretty Girl Graduates at Margaret Eaton School," Evening Telegram (22 May 1935); "Girls Get Diplomas at Margaret Eaton," Daily Star (21 May 1935); and "Graduation 1935," M.E.S. Magazine 1935-1936, 12.

[308] "16 Students Of Margaret Eaton Get Diplomas," Globe (23 May 1936): 8; "Honoured At Margaret Eaton Graduation," Evening Telegram (22 May 1936); "Graduating Class at Margaret Eaton Hall," Evening Telegram (22 May 1936); and "Cody Hopes for Gym for Varsity Women," Daily Star (23 May 1936).

[309] "Graduation, May 26," Globe (22 May 1937): 17; "Happiness, Originality, Loyalty Advised for Margaret Eaton Girls," Globe (27 May 1937): 10; "Graduates Win Awards," Evening Telegram (27 May 1937); "Margaret Eaton School Holds Graduation," Evening Telegram (27 May 1937); "Fourteen Receive Graduation Diplomas," Daily Star (27 May 1937); and "Graduation '37," 1937-1938 M.E.S. Amies, 25.

doors to fine men and women from persecuted countries of Europe;"[310] and suggestions on "How to Succeed."[311]

The two women speakers argued respectively for the development of a personal philosophy of life that placed people first,[312] and that the students graduated into a "great fraternity of women pledged to the service of mankind." The graduates were encouraged to be graciously involved in serving and sacrificing for long term goals.[313]

In Dr. Cody's opening remarks to the 1936 graduates he could not help but mention his dream that there would soon be a women's gymnasium at the University of Toronto, and expressing appreciation for the positive co-operation that existed between MES and the University.[314]

The final graduation was held in 1942. Rev. C.E. Riley presided and Rev. D.A. MacLennan was the speaker. Somers reviewed the history of the school, beginning in 1906. She noted

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[310] "Selfish Attitude Bad for Canada," Globe and Mail (27 May 1939): 10; "M.E.S. Girls Get Diplomas," Daily Star (26 May 1939); and "Margaret Eaton School Graduating Class," Evening Telegram (26 May 1939).

[311] "M. Eaton School Class of Sixteen," Globe and Mail (22 May 1940): 10; "Graduates at Margaret Eaton School," Evening Telegram (22 May 1940); and "M. E. School Graduation," Daily Star (21 May 1940).

[312] "Margaret Eaton Girls are Awarded Diplomas," Globe (22 May 1935): 8; "Pretty Girl Graduates at Margaret Eaton School," Evening Telegram (22 May 1935); "Girls Get Diplomas at Margaret Eaton," Daily Star (21 May 1935); and "Graduation 1935," M.E.S. Magazine 1935-1936, 12.

[313] "M. Eaton School Has 29 Graduates," Globe and Mail (24 May 1941): 14.

[314] "16 Students Of Margaret Eaton Get Diplomas," Globe (23 May 1936): 8; "Honoured At Margaret Eaton Graduation," Evening Telegram (22 May 1936); "Graduating Class at Margaret Eaton Hall," Evening Telegram (22 May 1936); and "Cody Hopes for Gym for Varsity Women," Daily Star (23 May 1936).

that "through the courtesy of the T. Eaton Company this building will continue to be used by the new school for the duration of the war." Somers gave a good public face to the end of the school's existence and stated that "while the name is not attached to the new school, the spirit and tradition of Margaret Eaton will be maintained." She felt this would be made possible because of at least four things. In part this would be accomplished through the "Margaret Eaton Library," and the two annual scholarships of $500 each, accompanied with gold medals bearing the name of Margaret Eaton. Furthermore, Mary Hamilton, who "for twenty-four years guided the changing fortunes of physical education, is continuing her interest in her old school by making a gift to the University which will help maintain the September camp course." Finally, the "`Discobolus,' the Greek disc thrower, traditionally the school's symbol of democratic ideals and student government, which is passed from the graduating class to their successors--each year--will have a place in the new school."[315]

Dr. Ryerson, from the University of Toronto, welcomed MES into the "family" of the University. Rev. MacLennan encouraged the graduates to

> make the most of our best for the sake of others is the duty and responsibility of every one, but especially those to whom the privileges of higher learning have been extended.... It ought to be part of the religion of a man or woman to see that his country is well governed.... It must be the accepted duty of every citizen of a democratic country to make the democratic system work. Headaches and heartaches may be the reward of active participation in this business, but no matter!

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[315] "Margaret Eaton School Merged with University of Toronto," Globe and Mail (23 May 1942): 12.

Dean Riley reminded the graduates that "important as are physical fitness and a healthy body, a sound body is but an instrument to a sound mind and sound soul and they must use all their knowledge and skill for the glory of God and the benefits of mankind."[316]

D. Alumnae

One of the expectations of MES for its graduates was that they would "foster in the communities where they may locate, a program of rational participation in sports or athletic activities for all members of the group or school."[317] The students successfully found employment in their field, sought professional development opportunities, involved themselves in professional organizations, and assisted MES in a variety of ways.[318]

The success of MES graduates securing employment was described in the 1932 Calendar.

> During the last ten years the Margaret Eaton School has granted its diploma in physical education to one hundred and fifty-three young women who have come from Newfoundland, the United States, and every province in Canada. In the Fall of 1931 eighty-eight graduates were teaching, six were studying, three were in physiotherapy, three in social service, three in other occupations, and fifty in private life. Of those gainfully employed 74% were in Canada, 21% in the

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[316] Ibid.; and "Graduation Programme", and "Miss P. Seller Graduates with High Honours," File of the author, received from Pauline Seller.

[317] Calendar 1932-1933; to Calendar 1940-1941, 4-6.

[318] Including minor things such as ushering at banquets, "Activity Association Banquet, May 20, 1939," UTA-DEPA, A87-0027/034; and donating small sums of money for the library, The-News-of-the-School VII, No. 4 (June 1940): 3.

United States, and 5% in foreign countries.[319]

The Calendar from 1934 to 1936 stated that the school assisted graduates in securing positions, but added the disclaimer that "so much depends on the student and her success during the course, no assurance can be given that every graduate will be placed." In spite of the depression, the calendars said that in the fields of education and recreation there was "ever widening interest and opportunity." Students found employment in similar proportions and occupations as was the case in 1931.[320]

In 1936 it was reported that "in spite of immigration restrictions, schools in the States write to us for graduates to take charge of their physical departments. Only recently a request came for some one to go to Japan. We already have two graduates of the Class of '29 teaching in China."[321] It was further noted that in the ten years since 1926, 162 women graduated, and by May of 1936, "50% of these were teaching... 37.6% were in private life, including 21.6% married."[322] When a student married she usually stopped working outside the home, as a 1927 graduate said, "When you married in those days you did not even think about working."[323]

Judging by the occupations the graduates were engaged in by

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[319] Calendar 1932-1933, 11.

[320] Calendar 1934-1935; to Calendar 1936-1937, 10-11.

[321] Mary Hamilton, "The School 1926-33, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[322] Calendar 1936-1937, 11.

[323] Interview with Lillian Thomson Armstrong, July 11, 1991; for a slightly different position see "Married Teacher Problem Under Fire in the West," Mail and Empire (15 June 1931): 10.

1940, as indicated on Figure 3,[324] those who were married did not work outside the home. If some were recorded in two categories then the total percentage would be higher than 100 per cent but the opposite is true; when adding the four columns up one can only account for 97.7 per cent of the graduates.

Based on the questionnaire used for this dissertation, approximately fifteen per cent of the students remained single. Typically, those who married worked till they married. The average age of graduation was 21.39. The average age of marriage was 26.98; on average, MES graduates worked in their profession for five years before marrying, with a median of three and a half years. What occupations did their husbands have? Twenty-five per cent married men serving in the army, navy, or air force--not surprising since World War II began after many of the MES graduates had worked for several years--sixteen per cent worked in business, thirteen per cent were physicians, nine per cent were engineers, followed by lawyers, students, teachers, an architect, banker, journalist, police officer, detective, sales person, and a volunteer.

Figure 4 shows the types of teaching jobs the graduates entered. A large number of graduates worked for a Y.W.C.A. or a private school, and conversely few graduates worked in the public schools. This was due in part to the Ontario Government's refusal to certify graduates that did not attend the Ontario College of

[324] Calendar 1940-1941, 15.

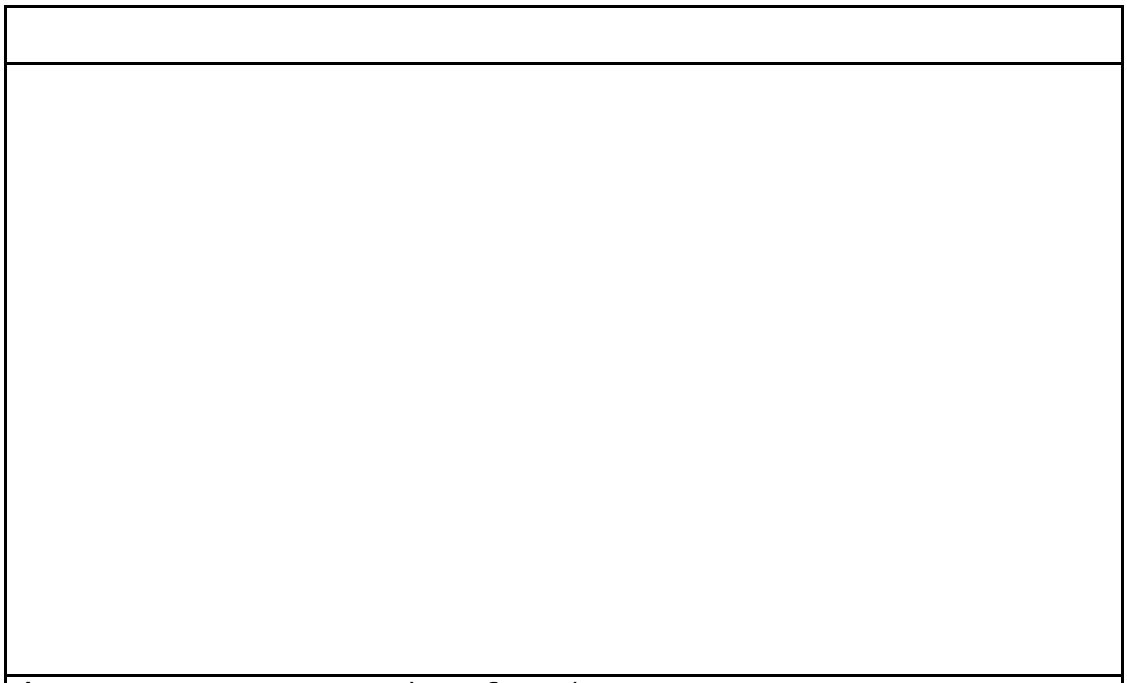

Figure 1 Occupation of Graduates, 1926-1940

Figure 2 Teaching Placements, 1926-1940

Education, and, according to a graduate, because the School did not grant degrees, and many public schools required teachers to have a degree not just a diploma.[325] One graduate noted that during the Thirties and Forties almost all of the Physical Education Directors for the Y.W.C.A.'s in Western Canada were MES graduates.[326] Somers noted in a 1942 report "that since the first graduation in 1926, 285 graduates have gone from the school, and ninety-three are teaching in universities, schools and recreational centres. Ten are in uniform."[327] Those who taught at universities included Mary Barker ('25), Doris Weston ('33), and Netta Morrison ('36) at Western University in London, Ontario.[328]

The school also sought the advice of its Alumnae. In 1938 an Alumnae Council was formed to advise the director of Margaret Eaton School on policies, practices and directions of the school. Five members were selected by MES staff and two by the executive of the Alumnae Association; for an Alumnae Association a rather school controlled selection process. Members were Phyllis Wray ('36), Lucille Jacob ('22), Dona Smellie ('23), Mary Barker ('25), Barbara Claxton ('32), Anne Ross Thompson ('34) (President) and Lucille Kirk ('35).[329]

From time to time an Alumnae who had done very well was

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[325] Labbett.

[326] Correspondence with Nette Morrison, to the author, November 8, 1991.

[327] "Margaret Eaton School Merged with University of Toronto," Globe and Mail (23 May 1942): 12.

[328] Interview with Netta Morrison, by the author, November 9, 1991.

[329] The-News-of-the-School VI, No. 2 (December 1938): 2.

praised or honoured for so doing. One reads of Florence Glenn who "has made quite a name for herself in London and Paris in the field of folk music...."[330] Also, Mildred Wickson's ('27) MES connections were referred to when she was selected as one of several Toronto Dancers going to the Olympics[331]--she also gave private dance lessons.[332]

The Alumnae were encouraged to take advantage of opportunities for professional and personal betterment by attending courses in their field. Some of these courses were offered in the summer time, and a "Refresher Course" was offered following Christmas at MES. There were also occasional notes in the school's newsletter encouraging professional development. A section of the December 1938 Newsletter had a section entitled "You-who-are-active-in-physical-education!" The section included a listing of several articles and books they thought these people should have read and asked if people had paid their membership to the national Canadian association for physical educators, called the Canadian Physical Education Association [CPEA];[333] of which the principal of their school, Florence Somers, was to become president.

It is also of interest to note that of the questionnaire respondents, eighteen per cent went on to get a Bachelor's degree, nine per cent went on for a Master's, and four per cent of these went on for a Doctorate.

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[330] The-News-of-the-School VIII, No. 3 (March 1941): 1.

[331] Saturday Night (11 July 1936): Section II, 1.

[332] Advertisement, Evening Telegram (10 May 1941): 21.

[333] "You-who-are-in-the-news," The-News-of-the-School VI, No. 2 (December 1938): 2.

Summer courses were offered internationally, and appear to have been well attended by MES students. Margaret Currie ('28) and Dorothy Moore ('24) reported, in 1933, attending an English Scandinavian Summer School which offered a course on the gymnastics of Elli Bjorksten.[334] This annual course was very popular with MES alumnae as Flora Morrison ('32) went in 1936,[335] and at least twelve alumnae went in 1938.[336] Others favourably remarked on other Summer Schools, held at the University of Wisconsin,[337] and at the Seattle Summer Courses.[338] At least five MES students attended a course on Bjorksten Gymnastics in Denmark,[339] while three students attended the Ling Centenary at Stockholm.[340] Since international travel was not up to today's standards, the amount of travel these women did is quite astonishing. When one considers that this was done during the Depression, clearly these alumnae were not poor. If taking courses in the summer was not sufficient, the Physical Education

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[334] Margaret Currie, "England," and Dorothea Moore, "England," Bulletin of the Canadian Physical Education Association 1, No. 1 (October 1933): 16-17.

[335] "Ontario," Bulletin of the Canadian Physical Education Association 4, No. 10 (December 1936): 21-22.

[336] Margaret Woolever ['31], "The Course," and Helen Mackey ['29], "The People," The-News-of-the-School VI, No. 1 (September 1938): 4.

[337] Helen Ricker ['37], "University of Wisconsin," The-News-of-the-School VI, No. 1 (September 1938): 5.

[338] Jean Mooney ['31], "University of Washington," The-News-of-the-School VI, No. 1 (September 1938): 6.

[339] Charlotte H. Layton, "News," The-News-of-the-School VI, No. 3 (March 1939): 3.

[340] Charlotte H. Layton, "News," The-News-of-the-School VI, No. 3 (March 1939): 3; and The-News-of-the-School VII, No. 1 (September 1939): 1.

Committee of the Alumnae Association planned several Annual Holiday (Christmas) courses. These were called "Refresher Courses" and offered during the Christmas break. The first course, in 1932, was described as follows:

> Under the auspices of the Physical Education Committee of the Margaret Eaton School Alumnae, a reunion of graduates in active physical education work was held yesterday morning in the school gymnasium. In addition to an interchange of work among the graduates, an interesting feature was a group of folk dances by Ukrainian children, under the direction of Mrs. Koohtow.... Graduates came from as far away as Winnipeg, and New Brunswick.[341]

These courses began as one day events and were lengthened to three day events by the year 1937. Somers and Jackson led several workshops,[342] as did other faculty and alumnae, including Irma Moyer ('31),[343] Kathleen Pepler ('22), Mildred Wickson ('27), Marion Hobday,[344] and Eleanor Keyes ('36).[345] By 1937 outside speakers began to be used, such as Dr. Anne Schley Duggan of Texas State College for Women; Dr. Shaller Lawton of New York

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[341] "Gymnasium Group Observes Reunion," Globe (30 December 1932): 8.

[342] Louise Dewar to "Graduates," April 13, 1935, UTA-DEPA, A87-0027/034; and "Take Part in Coming Events," Evening Telegram (23 December 1937): 9.

[343] "Physical Directors' Refresher Course," Bulletin of the Canadian Physical Education Association 1, No. 2 (January 1934): 14.

[344] Louise Dewar to "Graduates," April 13, 1935, UTA-DEPA, A87-0027/034; "Refresher Course at Eaton School," Globe and Mail (28 December 1938): 9; The-News-of-the-School VI, No. 2 (December 1938): 2; "Alumnae Refresher Course," 1938-1939 M.E.S. Amies, n.p.; and "Seventh Annual Refresher Course in Physical Education--1938," file of the author, received from Eleanor Keyes.

[345] The-News-of-the-School VIII, No. 2 (December 1939): 1; and "Refresher Course at Eaton School," Globe and Mail (28 December 1938): 9.

University;[346] the influential Marjorie Hillas, a member of the physical education staff of Teachers' College, Columbia University, who led workshops from 1938 to 1940;[347] Dr. Norma Schwender, an assistant professor of physical education at Teacher's College, Columbia University;[348] as well as Jack Purcell, a world class badminton professional;[349] and others.[350] Workshops included instruction in german gymnastics, tap dance, modern dance, swimming, social recreation, and at the beginning of World War II, military tactics.[351] Though the early workshops

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[346] "Margaret Eaton School Holiday Courses Served Many," Bulletin of the CPEA 5, No. 3 (February 1938): 3; "Alumnae Notes," The News-of-the-School V, No 3 (March 1938): 4; "Alumnae Holiday Course," 1937-1938 M.E.S. Amies, 33; "Sixth Annual Alumnae Holiday Course in Physical Education--Programme," file of the author, received from Eleanor Keyes, and "Teaching Teachers the Big Apple," Daily Star (30 December 1937).

[347] "Refresher Course at Eaton School," Globe and Mail (28 December 1938): 9; The-News-of-the-School VI, No. 2 (December 1938): 2; "Alumnae Refresher Course," 1938-1939 M.E.S. Amies, n.p.; and "Seventh Annual Refresher Course in Physical Education, 1938," file of the author, received from Eleanor Keyes."M. Eaton School Refresher Aims," Globe and Mail (27 December 1939): 8; "Refresher Course--1940--Programme," file of the author, received from Eleanor Keyes.

[348] "M. Eaton School Refresher Aims," Globe and Mail (27 December 1939): 8.

[349] The-News-of-the-School VIII, No. 2 (December 1939): 1; and "Refresher Course at Eaton School," Globe and Mail (28 December 1938): 9.

[350] Ibid., "M. Eaton School Refresher Aims," Globe and Mail (27 December 1939): 8; and "M.E.S. Alumnae Refresher Course Offers Variety For 3 Days' Work," Bulletin of the Canadian Physical Education Association 8, No. 1 (November 1940): 3.

[351] "Where the Blue Begins," Bulletin of the Canadian Physical Education Association 8, No. 3 (February 1941): 3;" Refresher course," The-News-of-the-School IX, No. 2 (December 1941): 3; "Refresher Course--1941--Programme," file of the author, received from Eleanor Keyes; and "M.E.S. Refresher Staffed by Home Talent," Bulletin of the Canadian Physical Education Association 9, No. 3 (February 1942): 5.

recorded fifteen registrations,[352] these numbers increased, and by 1940 110 participants were registered. Of these, forty-three were MES graduates, fifty-nine were from other colleges and universities, and eight gave no training.[353] People came from such places as Indiana, and New Brunswick, though the majority came from Ontario.[354] These courses continued to provide this professional development opportunity for at least two years following the School's amalgamation with the University of Toronto.[355]

Just prior to the 1938 Refresher Course, the National Council of the Y.W.C.A. arranged a one-day conference in Toronto for its directors, a pattern that was followed in subsequent years. What is remarkable is the domination of MES names in the ranks of these directors, many of whom would attend both the Y.W.C.A. conference followed by the MES Refresher Course.[356]

The war did not leave the School untouched. MES had an

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[352] Louise Dewar to "Graduates," April 13, 1935, UTA-DEPA, A87-0027/034.

[353] "The Margaret Eaton School--Ninth Annual Refresher Course Financial Statement--1940," UTA-DEPA, A87-0027/034; and "1940 Refresher Course--Final Report," UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 3, "The Margaret Eaton School (D.M.M. as Alumnae) Various items."

[354] "Margaret Eaton Special Attracts Young Women From Distant Places," Globe (29 December 1936): 12; and "Fifth Annual Refresher Course--December 28 & 29, 1936," file of the author, received from Netta Morrison.

[355] "Feminine `P.T.' Teachers Learn New Tricks," Evening Telegram (3 January 1942); and "Refresher Course--28-30 December 1943--Programme," file of the author, received from Eleanor Keyes.

[356] "Health Education Study on Tuesday," Globe and Mail (24 December 1938): 10; "Y.W.C.A. Physical Directors Confer on Health Education Trends," Bulletin of the Canadian Physical Education Association 6, No. 3 (February 1939): 2; and "Y.W.C.A. Physical Directors Meet in Health Program Conference," Globe and Mail (28 December 1939): 8.

international perspective with alumnae located in various parts of the world. Their concerns must have been genuine, though at times, when they talk about their "cute uniforms', one wonders how real the agony of the war was to them. The-News-of-the-School expressed several concerns:

> Unfortunately the unsettled conditions caused by war make it necessary for her [Irma Moyer ('31) to return to India by the Pacific at a much earlier date than she first planned.... In spite of blockades and typhoons, Grace Darroch ('22) writes cheerfully as usual to the Alumnae, from her home in Shanghai.... Friends of Andreana Williams ('22) will share our relief in the knowledge that she and her three children.. were rescued from the Athenia and are now safe with friends in Devonshire, England.[357]
>
> "In spite of all the tragedy in the world today, may you have a jolly Christmas with hope and love and peace in your hearts."[358]
>
> "Mary Adams ('34) tells something of conditions in Sunderland on the North-east coast of England where she teaches, `the most dangerous area in England.... I have been quite proficient in the blackout although I was very nervous at first....'" Fannie Lee ('29) reports that she finds her uniform quite cute.[359]

Not only were they concerned about their classmates around the world, they also sought to help their soldiers and the needy victims of the war. As in the case of the first World War, alumnae and students often met late Friday afternoons for knitting while listening to a classmate read.[360] In addition, they also sponsored other money raising events such as an amateur

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[357] The-News-of-the-School VII, No. 1 (September 1939): 3-4.

[358] The-News-of-the-School VIII, No. 2 (December 1939): 6.

[359] "From our mail bag," The-News-of-the-School VIII, No. 3 (March 1940): 4.

[360] "War effort," The-News-of-the-School VIII, No. 4 (June 1941): 2; The-News-of-the-School IX, No. 4 (June 1942): 1-2; and "Alumnae and Students in War Work Group," Globe and Mail (22 February 1941): 12.

night,[361] square dance party, collecting clothing and magazines, buying war savings stamps,[362] and contributing some of the their alumnae fees to the war effort.[363]

The activities of some alumnae were also recorded in various newspaper articles. Dona Smellie ('23) and Margaret Wither ('31) were in charge of a demonstration at Branksome.[364] Irma Moyer ('31) and Mildred Wickson ('27) were in charge of a Physical Education Demonstration at the Y.W.C.A.[365] Irma Moyer was also listed as a basketball coach for the Y.W.C.A.[366] In 1936, following two years of work in the Y.W.C.A. in London, Ontario, and two years in Toronto, Moyer left to Calcutta to assist Margaret Burton in the opening of a School of Physical Education for Women sponsored by the Y.W.C.A.[367] Later she recalled, with gratitude, "the wonderful and varied education provided by the Margaret Eaton School. It took me ultimately around the world...."[368]

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[361] The-News-of-the-School VIII, No. 3 (March 1940): 4.

[362] The-News-of-the-School VIII, No. 3 (March 1941): 1; and "War effort," The-News-of-the-School VIII, No. 4 (June 1941): 2.

[363] The-News-of-the-School IX, No. 2 (December 1941): 2.

[364] "Branksome Pupils Give Fine Display," Globe (6 May 1933): 14.

[365] "Y Gymnastic Show Largely Attended," Globe (13 May 1933): 14.

[366] "Noted Women to be Speakers in Health Week," Globe (6 January 1934): 14.

[367] "Goes to India--Miss Irma Moyer," Globe (6 April 1936): 8; and "Social Events," Globe (20 May 1936): 10.

[368] Irma Moyer Manning, "Margaret Eaton School," in "Welcome to our Reunion--The 45th Year of the Class of '39," in a file of the author, received from Winnifred McLennan. Was also published by the Recollection Group of Ryerson Polytechnical Institute in Toronto.

There were others such as Jess Loaring ('39), active in sports all her life, who won two gold and two bronze medals in the World Masters Games in Denmark in July of 1989; she was 72 at the time and died a year later.[369] There were also those who pursued quite different fields of interest, such as Netta Morrison Thomson ('36), who, with her husband, are Canada's first registered organic farmers.[370]

XXIX. MES and the Canadian Physical Education Association

MES played a significant role in the history of CPEA. CPEA was organized at a meeting at MES on April 19, 1933.[371] Both faculty and students of MES played an important role in the operations and committees of this association, wrote articles and book reviews for the Bulletin, and their names were often listed in connection with work they were doing or events they attended.

At the organizational meeting of CPEA at MES, Mary Hamilton and Mary Barker ('25) were present.[372] From 1933 to 1942, approximately ten to fifteen per cent of the CPEA membership were

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[369] "Jess Eastwood," The Xenia, Ohio, Daily Gazette (26 June 1990); "Eastwood, Jess Irene (Loaring)," Globe and Mail (28 June 1990).

[370] Des Kennedy, "Variety Acre," Harrowsmith 76 (November/December 1987): 56-63.

[371] Helen Gurney, The CAHPER Story, (Vanier: Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, 1983), 4; and Fred Bartlett, "The Canadian Physical Education Association Comes Into Being," Bulletin of the CPEA 1 (October 1933): 2.

[372] "Historical Outline of Association--Miss Somers Points to C.P.E.A. Record." Bulletin of the CPEA 7, No. 5 (May 1939): 1-2.

MES faculty, students, or graduates.[373]

MES members of CPEA took an active role, particularly Hamilton and Somers. Mary Hamilton served for two years as one of three first vice-presidents. She began her term when the CPEA was formed,[374] and kept this position till 1935. Upon her retirement from CPEA it was noted:

> It is a matter of great regret to physical educationlists throughout Canada, that Miss Mary G. Hamilton has retired from active physical education work.... Under her influence, many physical directors now in various positions all over the country, have been trained in the highest standards of service for the physical education profession. Miss Hamilton is continuing her work as Director of Camp Tanamakoon, and the best wishes of her many friends are hers.[375]

When Hamilton retired, it was written that Florence Somers would succeed her, "Somers is well-known in the United States where she has held many important positions in the physical education world, among others that of Associate Director of the Sargent School, Boston University."[376] In 1935 she became Secretary-Treasurer for CPEA.[377] In 1938, with the Ontario branch of CPEA in disorganization, Somers, along with A.A. Burridge, were

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[373] "Members of CPEA--March 19th, 1934, Bulletin of the CPEA 1, No. 3 (April 1934): 14-16; "Membership Received, 1934-'35, Up to Jan. 8th, 1935," 2, No. 5 (February 1935): 20; "Members of C.P.E.A.--1935-36," 3, No. 7 (October 1935): 27-28; and "Membership," 4, No. 11 (March 1937): 18-20.

[374] "The CPEA - Officers," Bulletin of the CPEA 1, No. 1 (October 1933): 1.

[375] "Ontario," Bulletin of the CPEA 2, No. 5 (February 1935): 17.

[376] Ibid.

[377] "CPEA - Officers," Bulletin of the CPEA 3, No. 8 (January 1936): 1.

instrumental in proposing re-organization strategies.[378] In September of 1939, at the beginning of World War II, Somers became the new president of CPEA. When she was elected to the presidency Somers was warmly praised by the CPEA's Bulletin.[379]

She greeted the war-time Bulletin readers with words of encouragement. In her articles she emphasized the importance of physical and mental health to the war effort, and consequently the important role physical educators could play.[380] In the fall of 1941, she encouraged the CPEA membership to use the war-time climate to advance the importance of physical education.[381]

Somers concluded her presidency in 1942. It is of interest that she would describe, as an unmarried woman, her relationship with CPEA as that of a mother and a child, and recognize some stereotypical strengths and weakness of such a relationship. She wrote: "[f]or the last three years the child has had a little mothering. Now that he approaches adolescence and must stand on his own feet among the big boys of the neighbourhood, it seems wise and desirable that he should be turned over to the male member of the family for more severe training."[382]

Other MES faculty and alumnae were also actively involved

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[378] "Where the Blue Begins," Bulletin of the CPEA 5, No. 4 (May 1938): 7.

[379] "Two New Names on National Executive, Bulletin of the CPEA 7, No. 1 (September 1939): 1.

[380] "The President's Greeting," Bulletin of the CPEA 7, No. 1 (September 1939): 1; and Florence Somers, "C.P.E.A. Must Serve Country At All Times," Bulletin of the CPEA 8, No. 1 (November 1940): 1.

[381] Florence Somers, "Editorial," Bulletin of the CPEA 9, No. 1 (November 1941): 2.

[382] "Miss Somers Passes on the Baton," Bulletin of the CPEA 9, No. 4 (April 1942): 1 and 3.

with CPEA. In 1937 CPEA decided to form three important "bodies who will consider problems connected with Girls and Women." Somers served on the four member Advisory Board, Jackson and Anne MacLean ('29) served on the six member Committee on Athletics for Girls and Women, while Elizabeth Wardley and Joan List ('32) served on the Committee on Programs in Physical Education for Girls and Women.[383] Others were involved as members of the four to six member Legislative Council. Flora Musgrave ('28) was on the CPEA Council from the association's beginning in 1933[384] to 1935;[385] at the time she was a Physical Education Instructress at King Edward Public High School in Vancouver. Leila Worthy ('24) was a also a member during this period;[386] at the time she was the Physical Director at the Saint John Y.W.C.A. Joan List ('32) was a member of this Council while she worked at the Halifax Y.W.C.A.[387] Gertrude Moore was represented British Columbia in 1938,[388] New Brunswick in 1939,[389] and British Columbia again in

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[383] "New Committees," Bulletin of the CPEA 4, No. 11 (March 1937): 7.

[384] "The CPEA - Officers," Bulletin of the CPEA 1, No. 1 (October 1933): 1.

[385] "CPEA--Officers," Bulletin of the CPEA 3, No. 8 (January 1936): 1.

[386] "The CPEA--Officers," Bulletin of the CPEA 1, No. 1 (October 1933): 1; "The Maritimes," 1, No. 1 (October 1933): 13; and "CPEA--Officers," 3, No. 8 (January 1936): 1.

[387] "CPEA--Officers," Bulletin of the CPEA 3, No. 8 (January 1936): 1.

[388] "Officers of the Association," Bulletin of the CPEA 6, No. 3 (February 1939): 2.

[389] "Officers," Bulletin of the CPEA 7, No. 1 (September 1939): 2.

1940.[390]

MES faculty also contributed several articles. The first of these was by Hamilton. She contributed an article on Camp Tanamakoon, and argued that training girls at this camp was both a responsibility and opportunity. She appreciated how campers developed qualities of "finer and happier living" while at camp, and asserted that the encouragement of democracy in the decision making at camp were important to the campers.[391]

Somers also contributed an article in which she outlined the "Ideals for Girls' Athletics." In this article she developed arguments to do with health safeguards, women leading women, better publicity, no gate receipts, and symbolic awards. In terms of health she argued for the need for a medical examination before a girl enters competitive athletics. This should be done by a physician who "is keenly aware of the best interests of the girl.... Precaution should be taken also against over fatigue." In arguing whether males or females should be coaching girls, she stated:

> Women need confidence and initiative to go into a situation and take charge of it. They must believe in athletics for girls, and in more athletics for more girls, rather than in the training of a limited number. Nine times out of ten, a man is interested in skill rather than in the girl. He sees athletic ability;... he wants to win championships with it. The girl is merely a means to the end, for him... it is true that men leaders do not understand the physical limitations of girls, and they are not the proper confidants for girls' problems of health and periodicity. More than this, they do not understand the reason for or the spirit behind changes in rules

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[390] "Officers," Bulletin of the CPEA 7, No. 6 (May 1940): 2.

[391] Mary Hamilton, "Woodcraft," Bulletin of the CPEA 2, No. 6 (April 1935): 1-3.

and regulations of games for girls.[392]

As to publicity, she was hoping for a journalism that emphasized "the playing rather than the beautiful girl in the abbreviated costume... [and] many of us would like to eliminate the slangy language of sport writers where girls are concerned." As to gate receipts, she felt this contributed to an assortment of problems.

> The game must be a good "show"; our team must win; we'll get a big crowd to cheer for the team and also make more money. The big crowd fills the hall to overflowing, the air is bad, the dust rises. All of these conditions render the game dangerous to the girl playing. She strives hard to satisfy the crowd and to win, and in so doing she may push herself past the point of fatigue, or she may play when not in condition to do so. A scheduled game cannot be postponed because members of the team are incapacitated by a natural function. The answer to this is that regular, scheduled league games are more hazardous to the girl than invitational, impromptu, social games.[393]

She wanted to do away with awards and prizes, so that "the joy of playing becomes the only incentive for the player."[394] Doctor Blumenfeld, a physician with Montreal's Health Department, challenged these positions by stating in an article on "Women in Athletics," that he has "yet to find a case where the health of a girl was affected adversely by competitive sport."[395] Somers argues against Blumenfeld by stating that "he is an optimist," and she wished that he "would use his enthusiasm to improve the

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[392] Florence Somers, "Ideals for Girls' Athletics," Bulletin of the CPEA 3, No. 9 (May 1936): 9-10. Underlining in original.

[393] Ibid.

[394] Ibid.

[395] E.A. Blumenfeld, "Women in Athletics," Bulletin of the CPEA 4, No. 10 (December 1936): 18.

conditions of training and competition" for girls.[396]

Alison Sutcliffe, another MES instructor, briefly traced the history of dance instruction, beginning in 1926 with the University of Wisconsin, which was the first to introduce dance "as a major subject, leading to a degree."[397]

Jackson provided an article on elementary techniques for basketball practice. The illustrations used were the first for the CPEA Bulletin.[398] In 1939, Jackson also chaired a committee which was to produce a Badminton Guide for women. This was the first project sponsored by CPEA and it was done cooperatively with the National Section of Women's Athletics of the A.A.H.P.E. & R. She and Marjorie Hillas from Columbia's Teachers' College collected and developed most of the material, and received some help from MES students.[399] Her work in badminton gave her opportunity to demonstrate the game, with the assistance of three MES students, at the Eastern District Convention in Boston in March of 1940.[400]

Students also contributed to the Bulletin of the CPEA. Gertrude Moore ('15) presented what she felt was important to the establishment of a Canada wide camping movement. She argued that counsellors must have "a love of life in the out-of-doors, a love

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[396] Florence Somers, "Reactions to E.A. Blumenfeld - Women in Athletics," Bulletin of the CPEA 4, No. 10 (December 1936): 18.

[397] Alison Sutcliffe, "A Graded Dance Program Outlined," Bulletin of the CPEA 6, No. 3 (February 1939): 4.

[398] Dorothy Jackson, "Basketball--Practice Outline--Elementary Techniques," Bulletin of the CPEA 7, No. 3 (December 1939): 8.

[399] "Badminton Guide Completed--Dorothy Jackson Has Done Fine Job," Bulletin of the CPEA 7, No. 4 (February 1940): 1.

[400] "Sepia," Bulletin of the CPEA 7, No. 5 (April 1940): 3.

of human beings and a great desire to make a contribution of themselves to life."[401] In addition, the Junior students at MES contributed two children's pieces,[402] and the Senior students contributed an original team swimming formation.[403]

Book reviews were also published by MES faculty, students, and graduates. Elizabeth Wardley completed the first book review from MES faculty and one other.[404] Somers wrote six reviews,[405] and Jackson three.[406] It is of interest that all but one of the authors reviewed were female. Students and alumnae also published book reviews in the Bulletin. One each was submitted

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[401] "Requirements for Camp Counsellors--Miss Moore of B.C., Rates Experience, Vision, Personality, Understanding High," Bulletin of the CPEA 7, No. 5 (May 1939): 8.

[402] "Humpty Dumpty - Originated by Junior Students: Margaret Eaton School," Bulletin of the CPEA 2, No. 6 (April 1935): 9; and "Jack be Nimble--Originated by Junior Students: Margaret Eaton School," 2, No. 6 (April 1935): 9-10.

[403] "Team Swimming--Original formations--The Senior Students of the Margaret Eaton School," Bulletin of the CPEA 2, No. 6 (April 1935): 10-11.

[404] Wardley, Elizabeth. "Book Review--Selected Recreational Sports, by Julia H. Post and Mabel J. Shirley." Bulletin of the CPEA 1, No. 3 (April 1934): 11-12; and "Book Review--Costumes For the Dance, by Betty Joiner," Bulletin of the CPEA 5, No. 2 (December 1937): 4.

[405] Florence Somers, book reviews in the Bulletin of the CPEA: "A Modern Philosophy of Physical Education, by Agnes Wayman," 6, No. 1 (October 1938): 3; "Anatomical Analysis of Sports, by Gertrude Hawley," 7, No. 6 (May 1940): 5; "Games and Parties the Year Round, by Nellie Lewis," 6, No. 3 (February 1939): 5; "Recreation for Girls and Women, by Ethel Bowerc," 2, No. 4 (November 1934): 17-18; "Social Games for Recreation, by Mason and Mitchell," 3, No. 7 (October 1935): 25; and "Teaching for Health, by Marguerite Hussey," 7, No. 5 (May 1939): 6.

[406] Dorothy Jackson, book reviews in the Bulletin of the CPEA: "Basketball for Girls, by Wilhelmine Meissner and Elizabeth Meyers," 8, No. 3 (February 1941): 4; "Official Basketball Guide for Women, by National Section on Women's Athletics of A.A.H.P.E. & R," 6, No. 2 (December 1938): 4; and "Workbook for Physical Education," 9, No. 1 (November 1941): 3.

by Nora Gauld ('34),[407] Elizabeth Bleakney ('40),[408] Diana Cameron ('40),[409] Jessie McGibbon ('40),[410] Shirley Naylor,[411] Helen Ricker,[412] and Ruth Woodsworth.[413]

Various teaching and learning opportunities of an active MES faculty were also reported. At the Ontario Educational Association Convention in 1934, Somers presented a "display and discussion on gymnastic costumes."[414] In May of 1936, Somers gave instruction in folk dancing at the Y.W.C.A. Refresher course held in conjunction with the Y's National Council.[415] Mildred Wickson and Marion Hobday also led workshops.[416]

Some of Jackson's professional contributions were also

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[407] Norah Gauld, "Book Review--Anatomy and Physiology of Physical Exercise, by Major R. W. Galloway," Bulletin of the CPEA 5, No. 3 (February 1938): 4.

[408] Elizabeth Bleakney, "Book Review--Archery, Riding, Tennis and Golf, 1940," Bulletin of the CPEA 7, No. 6 (May 1940): 3.

[409] Diana Cameron, "Book Review--Official Field Hockey Guide for Women and Girls," Bulletin of the CPEA 7, No. 6 (May 1940): 3.

[410] Jessie McGibbon, "Book Review--Official Recreational Games and Sports Guide--Track and Field, 1940-1941," Bulletin of the CPEA 7, No. 6 (May 1940): 3.

[411] Shirley Naylor, "Book Review--Visual Aids for Teaching Sports, by Therese Powdermaker," Bulletin of the CPEA 7, No. 6 (May 1940): 2.

[412] Helen Ricker, "A Review of `Three Schools,'" Bulletin of the CPEA 19, No. 4 (December 1953): 40-42.

[413] Ruth Woodsworth, "Book Review--Official Softball, Volleyball Guide with Official Rules, 1940," Bulletin of the CPEA 7, No. 6 (May 1940): 3.

[414] "Ontario," Bulletin of the CPEA 1, No. 3 (April 1934): 8.

[415] "Ontario," Bulletin of the CPEA 4, No. 10 (December 1936): 21-22.

[416] "`Y' Refresher Course Draws Registrations From All Over Canada," Globe (19 May 1936): 8.

reported in the Bulletin.[417] In 1940 she was appointed the "new chairman of the Women's Athletic Section for Canada."[418] One of her first committee jobs was the development, distribution and analysis of a questionnaire on women's basketball rules.[419] She also encouraged women to officiate and to use women's rules.[420]

Also reported on were Marion Hobday's workshops on Modern Dance at the Y's 1936 National Council,[421] and at the 1937 Ontario Educational Association Convention.[422] At this same convention, Dr. Edith Gordon, of the U. of T. and medical examiner for MES, gave a "Demonstration of a Posture Examination of High School Children."[423]

The work of several MES graduates was also considered to be of sufficient importance to be commented on in the Bulletin. For example: Mildred Wickson's ('27) tap dancing instruction at the

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[417] "Manitoba." Bulletin of the CPEA 1, No. 1 (October 1933): 11; "Preparatory Physical Education in Y.W.C.A. First Year Work," 1, No. 2 (January 1934): 13; "Ontario," 4, No. 10 (December 1936): 21-22; and "Sepia," 7, No. 4 (February 1940): 6.

[418] "Manitoba." Bulletin of the CPEA 1, No. 1 (October 1933): 11; "Preparatory Physical Education in Y.W.C.A. First Year Work," Bulletin of the CPEA 1, No. 2 (January 1934): 13."Ontario," Bulletin of the CPEA 4, No. 10 (December 1936): 21-22."Sepia," Bulletin of the CPEA 7, No. 4 (February 1940): 6."Sephia." Bulletin of the CPEA 8, No. 1 (November 1940): 3.

[419] "Where the Blue Begins," Bulletin of the CPEA 8, No. 3 (February 1941): 3.

[420] Dorothy Jackson, "Referees' Clubs Suggested for Women Cage Officials," Bulletin of the CPEA 9, No. 3 (February 1942): 5.

[421] "Ontario," Bulletin of the CPEA 4, No. 10 (December 1936): 21-22.

[422] "Women's Section Programme," Bulletin of the CPEA 4, No. 11 (March 1937): 5-6.

[423] "Women's Section Programme," Bulletin of the CPEA 4, No. 11 (March 1937): 5-6.

Y.W.C.A. Refresher course,[424] Nora Gauld's ('34) gymnastic workshop, and Helen Patterson's ('30) workshop on "New Relay and Group Games,"[425] at the Ontario Educational Association Convention. It was also noted that Gertrude Moore gave instruction at the University of British Columbia ('15),[426] Mary Barker ('25) at the University of Western Ontario, and Miss McQueen ('23), at the Ontario Agricultural College, Guelph, and Western.[427]

It was also reported that Della MacFarlane ('35) held two important positions by 1939. She was the Physical Director of the New Brunswick Normal School and supervisor of the physical activities of the Provincial Youth Training programs,[428] and developed programs with an MES bias.[429]

Both as an example and incentive for professional development, there were also reports in the Bulletin, of MES faculty[430] and students who took extra courses.[431] The Bulletin

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[424] Ibid.

[425] "Women's Section Programme," Bulletin of the CPEA 4, No. 11 (March 1937): 5-6.

[426] "British Columbia Holds One Day Meeting," Bulletin of the CPEA 5, No. 3 (February 1938): 5.

[427] "Where the Blue Begins," Bulletin of the CPEA 9, No. 1 (November 1941): 4.

[428] "Sepia," Bulletin of the CPEA 7, No. 5 (April 1940): 3.

[429] "Youth Training, Physical Education and Community Recreation in New Brunswick," Bulletin of the CPEA 7, No. 5 (April 1940): 1 and 3.

[430] "Where the Blue Begins," Bulletin of the CPEA 5, No. 4 (May 1938): 7.

[431] Margaret Currie, "England," Bulletin of the CPEA 1, No. 1 (October 1933): 16; Dorothea Moore, "England," 1, No. 1 (October 1933): 17; Mollie Gordon, "Scotland," 1, No. 1 (October 1933): 18; "Ontario," 4, No. 10 (December 1936): 21-22; "Ontario," 4, No. 10 (December 1936): 21-22; "Where the Blue Begins," 7, No. 5 (May 1939): 5; Flora Morrison,

reported on various Holiday Refresher Courses,[432] as well as the eventual merger of MES with the University of Toronto.[433] Clearly MES contributed positively to the field of physical education and the CPEA, and its faculty and students were to be emulated.

XXX. Summary

During this period, MES provided a comprehensive two-year physical education program. Approximately twenty theory courses offered a wide perspective on the discipline--including anatomy, history, effective teaching, hygiene, posture, and first aid. There were as many as thirty-one activity courses, and students spent considerable time at perfecting their skills in each of these areas. The time at camp at the opening of the school year was useful in developing bonds between members of the school, but also provided useful sport and camp training. Practice teaching was also a part of the program.

The program was intended to prepare women to work in schools and colleges, social centres or settlement houses, Y.M.C.A.

"A Summer at National Camp," 8, No. 3 (February 1941): 4; and "Ontario," 4, No. 10 (December 1936): 21-22.

[432] "Physical Directors' Refresher Course," Bulletin of the CPEA 1, No. 2 (January 1934): 14; "Ontario," 4, No. 10 (December 1936): 21-22; "Margaret Eaton School Holiday Courses Served Many," 5, No. 3 (February 1938): 3; "Y.W.C.A. Physical Directors Confer on Health Education Trends," 6, No. 3 (February 1939): 2; "M.E.S. Alumnae Refresher Course Offers Variety For 3 Days' Work," 8, No. 1 (November 1940): 3; "Where the Blue Begins," 8, No. 3 (February 1941): 3; and "M.E.S. Refresher Staffed by Home Talent," 9, No. 3 (February 1942): 5.

[433] "The Margaret Eaton School Merges With the University," Bulletin of the CPEA 9, No. 1 (November 1941): 1.

organizations, and summer camps.[434] The ideal held before the students was that they were to be "ambassadresses to spread the concept of health and fitness were stressed at MES."[435]

Though the part-time programming was not as extensive as the previous period, efforts were made to teach other women, children, and in some of the lectures, a few men. Perhaps the most significant part-time offerings were the camp leadership courses.

The students do not remember any faculty that were not demanding of excellence. MES's faculty was dedicated to the development of physical education. In addition to the full-time faculty, MES provided an opportunity for many women to teach on a part-time basis.

The full-time students at MES tended to be high-school graduates from well-established homes. They attended MES out of a deep interest in sport and physical education. Their lives were carefully controlled by administration to ensure the "girls" developed their sport, academic, and social skills in a manner fitting for a proper lady. This was taken most seriously, and the school appears to have had a strong impact on the students. As one graduate wrote, "The training we all received has never been equalled in any other school to my knowledge."[436] Those that chose to seek employment in the field almost always found appropriate work. Most often they became directors of physical

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[434] Calendar 1934-1935, 4; Calendar 1936-1937, 3; and Calendar 1938-1939, 3.

[435] Correspondence with Anne Lyster Toole, to the author, August 9, 1991.

[436] Correspondence with Ruth Scott Prophet, to the author, January 14, 1991.

education in Y.W.C.A.'s, or teachers in private girls' schools. From a small Toronto school its student body grew and played a pioneering role in the development of physical education in Canada.

Chapter Seven:
The Demise of the Margaret Eaton School

The demise of MES may have been imminent from its beginning. Emma Scott Raff had a vision for the school but was not inclined towards administration. When the school had the good fortune to attract Margaret Eaton as a wealthy benefactor, it was provided with the necessary funds to expand and continue. Since MES did not diversify its financial support base, it remained vulnerable to the wishes of Margaret Eaton. When the program shifted and Margaret Eaton grew tired of paying for her "hobby," Scott Raff resigned. However, the school continued because of the leadership of Mary Hamilton, the good reputation as a school to teach women physical educators, and by the good will of the Eaton Company, particularly Robert Eaton, who provided a building and some financial help for the school. But Robert Eaton was not much interested in maintaining a school of physical education and sought to find a way to absolve the company of any responsibilities for the school, while preserving a positive image for the Eaton Company. It took fifteen years for this process to evolve into the merger of MES with the University of Toronto. The correspondence from executives within the Eaton Company and the principals of MES detail the story of MES's demise.

By 1931 J. Elliott, an anxious Eaton Company official, urged that the arrangements for use of the building by the School be put in writing. He feared that over time the School might gain

rights to the property to which they were not entitled.[1] Elliott raised this concern again,[2] but a draft agreement was only partially completed by 1934. However, F.W. Murch, who was overseeing the preparation of this document, wondered if, "since there has been some discussion as to the continuance of the school I would like to know if the preparation of the agreement should be pursued further." Elliott felt that since the School management was changing this would be a desirable time to clarify the use of the building. Livingstone, at the time was the Assistant Secretary of the Eaton company, and later a Director and Treasurer of the company, agreed.[3] Following some consultation with School staff, a lease agreement and schedule of conditions were accepted by the School in January, 1936.[4] However, after all this work, the Eaton Company legal counsel suggested that nothing was to be gained by signing the agreement. Also, the use of the Girls' Club and others of the building would be "unfavourable to the right of exemption." But, as Elliott summarized it: "There is no obligation on our part to inform the City as to the precise nature of occupancy, but it rests with the City to discover and question, as we maintain the property is

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[1] J. Elliott to Mr. T.C. Musgrave, July 16, 1931, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School--Property Leasing."

[2] J. Elliott to A. Stuart, Architectural Office, November 2, 1933, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School--Property Leasing."

[3] F.W. Murch to Mr. J. Elliott, September 14, 1934, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School--Property Leasing;" "Biography--July 1961: John Alexander Livingstone," AO-EC, Series 221, Container 1, "Mr. John A. Livingstone--Director."

[4] J.A. Livingstone to Miss F.A. Somers, January 16, 1936, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School--Property Leasing."

entitled to be free from taxation."[5]

There was also some misunderstanding about the small surplus accumulating since the School had been reorganized. The position of the Eaton Company was that "the accounts of the School are still kept on the old basis," and "no person connected with the School has taken any action as regards the funds of the School that would imply ownership in any respect."[6]

The confusion on responsibility for MES is quite amazing. In June of 1932, six years after MES had gone on its own, Hamilton wrote to Livingstone and noted that "I am so glad to have had that talk with you and to know just where I stand... it is a good thing I did not realize the situation."[7] The content of their talk was "that she [Hamilton] was working on her own and any profits she made belonged to her. Naturally, if she incurred any debts they were also hers."[8] However, this had never been officially dealt with. Based on the legal advice of Foulds, legal counsel for the Eaton Company, it was felt that

> the present Board, not having resigned at that time [April 1926] and having allowed the school to continue, may have assumed some responsibility. If any trouble ever arose on account of debts, the Directors would not want to be in a position to have to admit of being on the Board and allowing this condition to occur, nor would they want to put themselves in the position of seemingly repudiating any debts incurred. Mr. Foulds could not say definitely that the Directors were not liable for any

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[5] J. Elliott, April 3, 1936, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School--Property Leasing."

[6] T.C. Musgrave to Mr. J. Elliott, September 18, 1931, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School--Property Leasing."

[7] Mary Hamilton to J.A. Livingstone, June 17, 1932, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[8] J.A. Livingstone to R.Y. Eaton, February 7, 1934, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

> debts contracted but stated that the only way to make sure of the matter was to surrender the Charter and drop the name of the School.[9]

MES continued to use the previous residence at Dundonald to house the out-of-town students. In June of 1932, Hamilton informed Gordon Mills, of the Eaton Company, that staying at the residence at 39 Dundonald street was "out of the question." Hamilton anticipated getting "a larger one for the same price."[10] Two weeks later she settled on a residence at 119 St. George Street, and she wrote "I have signed for it in my own name as you advised." Realizing that the school was her responsibility, not that of the Eaton Company, she stated that "I feel I can hardly ask Mr. Eaton for the furnishings for the ground floor."[11] However, in September of that year Hamilton wrote Robert Eaton stating that she "was sorry to have to do it [move] in your absence, but we had to make a move, and I hope that you approve." She then asked him if he could "help us with the furnishing of the lower floor, and would you come to see the place, Mr. Eaton?" Once again he did help and contributed $1,000 in furnishings for several years.[12]

The concern over financial losses appears to be the major reason the Eaton Company wanted to close MES. But as shown on Table 9, and the graphic illustration of this data on Figure 1 (p.116), notable improvements were made with respect to finances.

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[9] Ibid.

[10] Mary G. Hamilton to W. Gordon Mills, June 1, 1932, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[11] Mary Hamilton to J.A. Livingstone, June 17, 1932, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[12] Mary Hamilton to R.Y. Eaton, September 15, 1932, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

In terms of the School's cumulative balance, there was a peak on the profit side in 1931. Following this peak it dipped to a low in 1934, before rebounding to approximately $10,000.00 in 1942. Except for 1932 and 1934, residences were money makers for the school. Following 1933-1934, the Eaton Company continued to write off its contributions to the residences. The loss in 1934 would contribute to the sharp drop in the cumulative balance for that same year. The demonstrations were promotional displays and when subtracting expenses from income, they cost the school approximately $1,000 from 1926 to 1932, and $500 from 1932 to 1941. The peak in salary costs in 1930 to 1932 was due to the hiring of additional full-time faculty. With the sudden and large deficit in 1931-1932, resulting in part from declining enrolment, the school reduced, in 1933, the number of faculty and the salary level for remaining faculty. The year-to-year profits simply accumulated in a

Table 9: Finances 1926-1942

Table 9 con't

MES bank account.

However, the concern of the Eaton Company was reinforced in July of 1933 when it was noted that "[i]f the present rate of depletion continues, it seems inevitable that the Company will be called upon for assistance next year."[13] This was not because the school was not doing anything about it, for one the faculty and staff took a pay cut in 1932 and 1933. The cut in pay in 1933 reduced salaries to sixty-five per cent of what their salaries had been. Remarkably, Mary Hamilton took no salary and paid two months of rent for the residence, though she later received payment for the rent money.[14] A factor contributing to the school's deficit was a growing amount in unpaid student fees. From 1929 to 1933 the cumulative balance for unpaid fees was: $231, $551, $714, $1,227 and finally $1,791. Layton, the school's secretary, was confident of collecting those amounts, though the Eaton Company representative considered "they are very largely of the nature of bad debts," and he suggested that the depression contributed to this and that "insufficient enquiry is made into a pupils's financial standing at the time of enrolment."[15] Layton managed to collect $1,400, and only $365.75 needed to be written off as bad debts.[16]

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[13] Memorandum from A.S. Ackerman, July 12, 1933, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Balance Sheets and Annual Statements (1921-1941)."

[14] A.S. Ackerman--Secretarial Office, May 3, 1934, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Balance Sheets with Records (1920-1940)."

[15] Memorandum from A.S. Ackerman, July 12, 1933, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Balance Sheets and Annual Statements (1921-1941)."

[16] "Memorandum re: accounts receivable as of June 30, 1934," August 1, 1934; Thomas Legate to Mr. Ackerman, December 29, 1934; "Memorandum re: Account Receivable as of June 30 1934," December 6, 1934; Thomas Legate to Harry Lee, December 13, 1934; T. Legate to Mr. Ackerman, December 17, 1934; Thomas Legate to Harry Lee, December 21,

Over the years, the residence provided a modest surplus for the School; fees paid totalled $124,018, the expenses totalled $122,619, the net gain was $1,398. In 1934 Florence Somers became the School's new principal and accepted personal financial responsibility for the residence the following year. Therefore, from 1935 to the close of the school there are no fees or expenses recorded in the School's ledger. In the overall ledger the Eaton Company did write off the furnishings during these years.[17]

One reads of a "Payment of cash surplus to University of Toronto" of $10,027.56 given on December 9, 1942. Considering the 1942 cumulative debt of $59,157 minus the $31,876 Margaret Eaton assumed, the school should still have a debt of $27,281. However, when the school was reorganized, in 1926, MES also needed to become self-financing, or only receive minimal assistance from the Eaton Company. Eaton assumed the debts up to that time and gave the School $839 to begin their new School year 1926. Still, when one adds this amount to the total of the profit and loss entries for the years 1926-1942 one would anticipate a final profit of only $4,022. However, the Eaton Company paid $1,000 rent for the residence in 1927 and 1928. In 1935 the Company contributed an additional $1,686. Furthermore, the Eaton Company provided furniture for the residence which they wrote off from 1935 to 1942 for a total of $4,001. The school purchased furnishings in 1933 worth $901, these were also written

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1934; Harry Lee to Mr. Legate, December 28, 1934, AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Balance Sheets with Records (1920-1940)."

[17] F.A. Somers to Mr. Lewis, November 19, 1940, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

off by the Eaton Company. Following the close of the school, in 1942, three minor items were added to the budget totalling $28.12. There were also debits in the closing of the books: a bad debt of $354, and the writing off of an assets account of $454.[18] These amounts total $809 and provided a profit of 10,027.56.[19]

The Eaton Company wrote off the remaining debts of the School when it closed. The School's total cumulative debt in 1942 stood at $59,157.24. The $31,876 contributed by Margaret Eaton in 1925 reduced the actual cumulative debt to $27,281 by 1942. Since the debt exceeds the value of the $20,000 shares, the capital raised by them went to pay off the debt. This reduced the net debt to $7,281. The $10,027 contributed to the University of Toronto needs to be added to this debt, making the financial contribution by the T. Eaton Company $17,308.58.

During this time there was continued dialogue with the University of Toronto concerning merging MES into the University. Again there was discussion of affiliation with the University. This time it was President Cody of the University who approached R.Y. Eaton with "some scheme they [the University] have in mind for affiliating the School with the University, and erecting a building as a memorial to Mrs. Eaton along the lines of the Massey memorials."[20]

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[18] Private Ledger, AO-EC, Series 127, Volume 694 "1925-1941", 134.

[19] Balance Sheet, September 30th, 1941, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School--Surrender of Charter;" and W.G. Mills to Mr. R.Y. Eaton, May 23, 1927, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development."

[20] Ibid.

Mills discussed the future of MES and possible affiliation with the University with Mary Hamilton. Several interesting points were made. The main point was that the University was "very anxious" to establish a Department of Physical Education, and would be happy to take over MES if someone put up enough money to "put up a suitable building." Knowing that Eaton would be puzzled why the University had refused such an offer earlier, Mills informed that the University "had not wished to assume the Department of Literature and Expression.[21] He further argued that since the public schools are closed to MES graduates, since they lacked university standing, competition with the University would be a huge obstacle to the school's success. Therefore, he recommended joining.[22]

In June of 1927, President Cody from the University, approached R.Y. Eaton with a proposal of affiliation.

> Dr. Cody called to say that the Board of Governors of the University are considering favourably the advisability of establishing a school for physical training.
>
> There is the sum of $150,000.00, from the Massey Foundation which was earmarked for this purpose. The kind of building and equipment which they had in mind would cost about $400,000.00. It had occurred to them that if those interested in the perpetuation of the Margaret Eaton School would see their way to putting up the building the Governors could set aside the Massey money as an Endowment Fund to be applied to helping along the work of the school. Or if $400,000.00 were considered too large an amount it might be found feasible to erect the building in two parts, one part of which would be built with the Massey money and contain swimming pool and gymnasium, the other part would contain an assembly hall, class

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[21] W.G. Mills to Mr. R.Y. Eaton, June 1, 1927, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development."

[22] Ibid.

rooms, etc.[23]

Surely, as a compromise to MES, "the University would see to it that pupils would receive a cultural education in Literature and History, and they would also favor considering including a class in vocal expression if so desired."[24] A detailed listing of the rooms and actual costs was prepared[25] but this time the Eaton Company declined to become involved. President Cody pleaded with R.Y. Eaton, "Will not you and your fellow Directors make some proposal to the University which is satisfactory to you, and which may prove to be satisfactory to the University?"[26]

The Directors of the Eaton Company still refused. Principally because

> Mrs. Eaton [Margaret] did not identify herself with women's activities, but with the work done by the Margaret Eaton School as a school of Literature and Expression.... The classes in Physical Training were taken over by Mrs. Hamilton on her own account. Mrs. Eaton has never shown interest in Physical Training but has permitted Miss Hamilton to use the name temporarily.[27]

Sir Robert Falconer, without mentioning it to Dr. Cody, again requested the Eaton Company to consider contributing to a $600,000 to $700,000 physical education building for women. This time there was to be no work proposed in dramatic art or public

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[23] R.Y. Eaton, June 8, 1927, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development."

[24] Ibid.

[25] LEP to Dr. Cody, January 16, 1928, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development."

[26] Dr. Cody to R.Y. Eaton, January 30, 1928, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development."

[27] R.Y. Eaton to Dr. Cody, July 4, 1928, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development."

speaking.[28] W.G. Mills, the Eaton Company treasurer, argued that there are three good reasons to give the idea serious consideration: one, there was pressure by women's organizations for the University to acquire such a building; two, it would be "an ideal memorial to Mrs. Timothy Eaton..., it would almost seem like a discourtesy to Mrs. Eaton if it were to be discontinued;" three, as a matter of public relations "it would seem to be good policy for the Company to make occasional large contributions to the public welfare as it did in Sir John's day."[29]

By March 1931, the University's request was more modest. Dr. MacDonald, from the University, discussed the matter with R.Y. Eaton on March 18, 1931. This time he requested a sum of "$200,000 but not to exceed $300,000."[30] A half year later he again discussed with R.Y. Eaton the possibility of contributing to a building for physical training which would cost $500,000. "He mentioned that the $200,000 belonging to the Massey Estate and ear-marked for that purpose would be available, if we cared to donate the remaining $300,000. But, he also asks whether we would prefer to donate the whole $500,000. In either case, the Margaret Eaton name would apply."[31]

Livingstone met with Dr. MacDonald on November 21, 1931, and advised him that "the company did not feel disposed at the

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[28] R.Y. Eaton, January 27, 1930, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development."

[29] W.G. Mills to R.Y. Eaton, January 27, 1930, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development."

[30] R.Y. Eaton, March 20, 1931, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development."

[31] R.Y. Eaton, November 19, 1931, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development."

present time to commit itself to any further large expenditure of money." Dr. MacDonald replied that he "had rather expected an answer of this nature. He hoped, however, that the matter was not to be considered closed." To this, Livingstone listed the strengths of MES as a "training organization for teachers of physical education," and suggested that the University should consider MES affiliating with it. Dr. MacDonald answered that he would encourage such an affiliation and hinted that this might give the Eatons time to reconsider erecting a building for physical education. Livingstone informed MacDonald that "while he had no authority for encouraging such a hope it was his personal feeling that to grant affiliation would probably be the most effective way of establishing grounds for future action."[32]

After Mary Hamilton was reminded of the fact that MES was to be self-governing, she wrote to Livingstone that "[y]ou can understand that it is absolutely necessary to have your backing in such an undertaking [affiliation], and I do not doubt for a moment that when our relations with the University require the advice of a board, you will grant our request for one. Am I right?"[33]

One of the continuing concerns was that the school as planned by Mrs. T. Eaton was primarily for Dramatic work, with Physical Education as a secondary consideration. Therefore "a

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[32] J.R. Livingstone, to Mr. R.Y. Eaton, November 21, 1931, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development."

[33] Mary Hamilton to J.A. Livingstone, June 17, 1932, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

Physical school would not be a fitting memorial to her memory."[34] There was a suggestion to develop drama at the Eaton Girls' Club, and if that were successful, "work up a few pupils from ME School and reestablish the Dramatic side of it."[35] The Eaton Company even got so far as appointing such a person at a rate of fifty dollars per week,[36] but it never affected MES.

In January 1934, Hamilton wrote Robert Eaton and said that she felt that it was the "opportune time for me to give up the directorship." She felt that since there was a "good registration" that the school's finances should be in better shape. Also, she felt Somers, who was the school's assistant principal for the 1933-1934 academic year, was well suited to "assume the headship of the school.[37]

Hamilton's intention to resign brought the question of the future of the school into the forefront again. Ivor Lewis, an Eaton employee, felt that "the only hope in sight of making it a really worth-while institution with the other valuable elements in addition to the purely physical education side of it, is in having a man like Mr. Sterndale Bennett take hold of it." Bennett taught speech at Victoria College as well as on a part-time basis at MES. Apparently, Bennett, under the suggestion of

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[34] Vaughan to Livingstone, August 21, 1933, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[35] Ibid.

[36] R.Y. Eaton to JAL, August 30, 1933, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[37] Mary Hamilton to R.Y. Eaton, January 5, 1934, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto;" and Helen Parsons, "Brief Notes on the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression and the Margaret Eaton School," The-News-of-the-School IX, No. 3 (March 1942): 2.

Gordon Mills, another Eaton's employee, began to draw up a "literary and dramatic prospectus for a school such as the Margaret Eaton School."[38]

Robert Eaton was not convinced Sterndale Bennett would persist. He feared the School would lose Bennett to the lure of Hart House. Robert Eaton was also concerned about a rental dispute regarding the school's residence. The residence situation was complicated by the fact that "Miss Hamilton's acknowledged business supervisor is Bob Fennell, a right decent chap, but son in law of Nasmiths who might not mind seeing the Margaret Eaton name dragged in the mud in a law court over a trifling sum of bad debts or a fuss over rent." As to the future of the School, Robert Eaton wondered "if we should not just let it close up and be through with it when Miss Hamilton quits."[39]

Furthermore, Victoria College expressed interest in the work of Margaret Eaton School and having it affiliate itself with Victoria. However, Dr. Brown, head of Victoria College, did not think MES had a "very promising future as a school of literature and dramatic expression." Nor was he interested in the School as a teacher training institution. He saw it primarily as a "means of affording the badly needed physical education and development of the women students of the College." Like the University, Brown hoped the "Margaret Eaton School would provide the funds for a suitable building and equipment." Lewis suggested to R.Y. Eaton that "it is evident that any thought he [Brown] has in mind

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[38] I.R. Lewis to Mr. R.Y. Eaton, February 6, 1934, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

[39] R.Y. Eaton to Ivor, February 3, 1934, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

does not chime in with your ideas of what the Margaret Eaton School should be."[40]

In 1934 a Parliamentary Committee was organized that would cause the Eaton Company considerable concern. It was referred to as the Stevens Committee, and officially known as "The Special Committee on Price Spreads and Mass Buying." Since the Eaton Company represented the largest national chain store in Canada, it received considerable scrutiny. The Eaton Company was accused of using various selling tactics that negatively affected smaller retailers, as well as underpaying and overworking the Eaton employees.[41] One of the Eaton Company executives suggested preparing "some editorials bringing out the fact that the Eaton Company employs a large army of people throughout Canada." Though he was aware, based on discussions with Vaughan, that R.Y. Eaton would "have some reluctance about publishing anything at the present time which would emphasize the great proportions of the business."[42]

Pierre Burton, in a recent article, noted how Eaton's and Simpson's, in the winter of 1932-33, were selling suits made in Quebec sweatshops. He further argued that when the Stevens Committee began investigating these practices in an Eaton Factory, the company "abruptly stopped sending the poorest producers home and threatening them with unemployment. By March, the company had also decided to place all its employees under the

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[40] I.R. Lewis to Mr. R.Y. Eaton, February 6, 1934, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

[41] Stephenson, 96.

[42] I.R. Lewis to Mr. R.Y. Eaton, February 6, 1934, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

Minimum Wage Act and raise the piecework rates...." In terms of wages of those working in the Eaton's stores, the "25,736 employees were averaging a mere $970 in annual wages--well below the poverty line--while the company's forty directors averaged an annual $35,000. Stevens said he could not justify in his mind a department store's "handsome mark-up... over 100 per cent--yet women are working for ten and eleven dollars a week." Burton argued that in respect to the Committee findings, "newspaper readers in Toronto had to look hard to find it, for the Toronto papers handled this aspect of the hearings very gingerly;"[43] the newspapers received a considerable sum of advertising revenue from Eaton's and did not want to unnecessarily upset a good customer.

There was no doubt that the Directors of the Eaton Company, and Robert Eaton were interested in making as much money as possible while still preserving a positive facade. The trouble the Company had with MES was one of public relations. Margaret Eaton had died by this time, and so there were no Eatons with any special interest in the school; even Margaret had stopped financing it ten years earlier. When the school did not cost the Eatons it was permitted to continue--it was a positive promotion of the company name--when MES began to cost them money, there was increased talk of closing the school. Over time, the Company's real question was how to get rid of the school and preserve a positive name for the Eatons.

In 1933, when Professor DeLury, from Victoria College, was to pay R.Y. Eaton a visit, Eaton anticipated discussions to

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[43] Pierre Burton, "Minimum Wage Act Broken Factory Girls Driven Nearly Insane," Saturday Night (July/August 1990): 23-33.

centre around the permanency of the School. Perhaps the immediate concern was whether, Dorothy Jackson, employed by MES but working physical education half time for Victoria, would continue.[44] Jackson's work at Victoria was seen as a positive step by Vaughan, who wrote: "This is the first time that any part of the University has even met it halfway. If through this, the School can later be given recognition that would qualify its graduates to teach in Ontario Schools, it is the big step towards making the school a permanency."[45] However, Robert Eaton thought that since Hamilton intended to resign, the relationship between Victoria and MES would likely be discontinued. On the one hand Eaton reemphasized the fact that the School was on its own. With respect to Hamilton's resignation, he supported the idea that "the School was her [Hamilton's] own adventure and she was under no obligation to send in a resignation." Robert Eaton thought this would "put a definite and inglorious end to the School." However, he wondered if the Eaton Company permitted this to happen, it would backfire on them. Particularly since Hamilton was "greatly liked by her past pupils, would such an action seem to these as shabby treatment of Miss Hamilton and their Alma Mater?" Furthermore, he felt that:

> in this case, if the Company let the School go, we would have to be prepared to take adverse criticism and if we expect, Mr. Stevens is going to gather together all the stuff he can get, about the Company having shabbily treated old managers and old employees

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[44] Mary Hamilton, "The School 1926-33," and Mary Hamilton to R.Y. Eaton, January 5, 1934, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto;" VUA, 87.125v, Volume 2, "Minutes of the Board of Regents - November 19th, 1931 to October 24th, 1940," 13 June 1933, 1 June 1934, and 24 June 1936.

[45] Vaughan to Livingstone, August 21, 1933, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

> and having had hundreds of employees receiving wages far below minimum and as we will not get a chance to show how these things are wrongly reported, then whatever Miss Hamilton wants to say about the Eatons will be believed, as it can be made to put in with the above... Ought we to have the nerve to accept no responsibility now? Or, should we use discretion and sympathize now, and trust to luck that there would be some way found during the year to perpetuate the School?[46]

As it turned out, the purpose of DeLury's visit was to ask whether anyone connected with the Company, or the Company itself, would be sufficiently interested in perpetuating the "Margaret Eaton" name by providing a building for the University. He argued that there was a need for such a building in the University, that there was no University money for it, that students would be levied a maintenance fee for the new building, that it would provide a communal life for women students for the various colleges affiliated with the University of Toronto, and that the "idea in mind was not affiliation as before but was rather in the nature of co-operation...."[47] Aside from Jackson working half-time for Victoria no other arrangements were made.

Hamilton did resign at the end of the school year, to the regrets of many. The newspaper noted her twenty-four year career with MES, and how she "sent out to teaching positions in the schools and recreation clubs of Canada many graduates imbued with her own high standards for physical education." Florence Somers remarked: "Generous, unselfish, just, open-minded, progressive, you and I are the richer for having known her. She has made the Margaret Eaton School known throughout the length and breadth of

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[46] R.Y. Eaton, nd., EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

[47] RYE to Executive Offices, April 21, 1934, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

Canada for its high standards."[48] MES graduates still remember her as remarkable, wonderful, a kind person.[49] If there was any concern about her it had to do with her involvement in the Oxford group. This group was part of the Anglican Oxford Movement and was applied in a somewhat secretive manner by Hamilton at MES. Several students became involved in this, while another student said: "Somebody put me wise that you did not get involved in that sort of thing."[50]

The previous discussion between Lewis and MacDonald eventually did bear fruit in the form of a co-operative arrangement between MES and the University of Toronto.[51] As MacDonald had thought, this decision did establish grounds for future action--the eventual merger of MES with the University. Concerning this new relationship, the 1934 Calendar noted: "The Margaret Eaton School has been granted `co-operation' with the University of Toronto. Because of this, some of the courses for 1934-35 will be taken at the University."[52] By 1936 the Calendar stated that this arrangement "gives the Margaret Eaton School a number of privileges in the University, such as the Anatomy

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[48] "Miss Mary Hamilton Honored by Alumnae," Globe (21 May 1934): 8; "Resigns Position--Miss Mary G. Hamilton," Globe (21 May 1934): 8; "Retires After 24 Years." Telegram (21 May 1934): 8; and "Heirloom Gold Chain Alumnae's Love Token," Mail and Empire (21 May 1934): 8.

[49] Correspondence by Marjorie Culbert, to the author, November 11, 1991; Kay Greene, November 22, 1991; and interviews with Nora Gauld Wistow, by the author, November 12, 1991.

[50] Interview with Eleanor Keyes Kay, by the author, November 19, 1991.

[51] J.R. Livingstone, to Mr. R.Y. Eaton, November 21, 1931, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development."

[52] Calendar 1934-1935, 6.

courses taken in the University Anatomy department, and the medical examinations given by the Medical Adviser for Women."[53]

The relationship between the University and School continued. At the 1936 commencement of the School, President Cody was present "and spoke very highly of the work done by the School and very appreciatively of the association between the University and the School, and intimated that he hoped that in the future there would be a still closer association."[54]

To return to 1934, a decision was made by the Board of Directors of the Eaton Company, to "discontinue the name of the school in June 1935."[55] Three options were considered as to the closing of the school. If Somers was unable to obtain financial backing then they should only accept second year students and offer them their final year, or secondly, to accept first and second year students but advise both that the upcoming year would be the last for the school. A third option existed if Somers was able to obtain financial backing. The school would carry on as normal except that incoming students would be told that they would not graduate with an MES diploma, but a diploma given by Somers' new school, beginning in 1935.[56] In any event, "the proposed calendar would have to be re-written with a view to eliminating all mention of the School Residence and minimizing

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[53] Calendar 1936-1937, 6; Calendar 1938-1939, 8; and Calendar 1940-1941, 9.

[54] Mr. J.A. Livingstone, June 26, 1936, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

[55] H.F. Mullen to Secretarial Offices, June 20, 1934, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[56] H.F. Mullen to J.A. Livingstone, June 20, 1934, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

the emphasis that is placed on the history and standards of the Margaret Eaton School."[57]

When the matter was discussed with Somers she strongly objected, arguing that "this would hurt the school very much and that there would be no chance of it being a success and no chance of affiliation with the University.... In fact, if this was our intention, the best thing she could do was to throw up her hands." Instead she suggested that the school be "continued for two years in the Margaret Eaton School name and at that time she will know whether the school will likely to be a success." She was persuasive since it was decided to continue the school for at least two more years.[58] Furthermore, should MES loose money, all the directors would be legally responsible for the debt. Reducing the number of directors to four, instead of eight, and just including Eaton family, and Vaughan, was seen as a way of safe-guarding directors not immediately related to the Eatons.[59] The directors were reduced to the Eaton family members, Josephine Burnside, Lady Eaton, and R.Y. Eaton, and the secretary, J.J. Vaughan.[60] However, in June of 1936, Somers argued that "as she has succeeded in the past year in putting the school on a stronger basis and is showing a small surplus, it would be a very great pity to deprive her at present of the right to use the

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[57] Ibid.

[58] Memorandum of Conversation with Miss Somers, June 20, 1934, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[59] Ibid.

[60] J. Elliott to J.J. Vaughan, September 22, 1941, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

Margaret Eaton School name." R.Y. Eaton agreed to this[61] and MES was given another two years of life.

With respect to the residence, Somers was notified in 1934 that "all connections with the residence on St. George St. would be severed and nothing of the nature of a Margaret Eaton residence was to be mentioned in the calendar. She could say that suitable quarters would be provided for the students."[62] Consequently, following 1934, the residence was personally operated by Somers.

By the end of the 1936-1937 School term, two years after Somers had assumed the principalship, she had accumulated a surplus of $1,500. Somers requested using this money to increase the salaries of her "underpaid" faculty. She was advised by Lewis and Livingstone that since she is "on her own and not depending upon the Company to make good her deficits, she has an equal right to make use of any surplus in the way which seems best to her." They did advise her that "it might be wise to allow the salaries to remain as they are and to award bonuses at the end of the year according to the results at the end of that year." In addition, "in view of the success achieved by the school since Miss Somers assumed control, there would be no risk in her continuing the use of the name for the coming year."[63] She

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[61] Mr. Lewis interviewed Miss Somers, June 22, 1936, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[62] Memorandum of Conversation with Miss Somers, June 20, 1934, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[63] I.R. Lewis, May 29, 1937, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

did provide $400 bonuses that year for full-time faculty.[64]

Somers, though officially on her own, knew how to maintain the Eaton's support. Financially the School was doing well; enrolment was increasing; and she informed the Eatons of good news about the School, particulary in terms of enrolment and placement of graduates, and by giving a few complimentary tickets to the School's recitals.[65]

Nevertheless, the pressures from many sides came to bear on MES in 1941. This year marked the complete amalgamation with the University and the end of MES.

Upon consultation with W.J. Dunlop, the Director of the Extension Department of the University and Dr. E.S. Ryerson of the University Medical School, Somers felt a formal application of incorporating MES into the new course was most timely.[66] She immediately asked the University of Toronto Senate to consider such incorporation.[67] She then asked Ivor Lewis, from the Eaton Company, to support her in this venture.[68] Ivor Lewis seemed to be dragging his feet on this issue, and in February she again impressed upon him the importance of prompt decisions in this

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[64] Private Ledger. AO-EC, Series 127, Volume 694, "1925-1941", 133.

[65] Florence A. Somers to Mr. Lewis, November 26, 1937; C.H. Layton to Mr. Lewis, July 4, 1938; Florence A. Somers to Mr. Lewis, April 15, 1939; Florence A. Somers to Mr. Lewis, October 4, 1939; and Florence A. Somers to Mr. Lewis, October 2, 1940, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

[66] F.A. Somers to Mr. Lewis, November 19, 1940, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

[67] F.A. Somers to Mr. A.B. Fennell, November 19, 1940, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

[68] F.A. Somers to Mr. Lewis, November 19, 1940, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

matter. Florence Somers emphasized that she had been working on this for some years and felt it was an action "the sponsors of the School wished done." She believed "that the opportunity may not come again at such an advantageous time, when our enrolment is high and before competition from similar courses in the Universities make itself felt." In addition, "since the lease of the present residence should be renewed soon if we are to need it another year, I must know what the intention of the `Board' is for the future of the School." This was particularly important to her personally since she had taken over the financial responsibility of the residence in the Fall of 1934.[69] She sent a letter to the University of Toronto, which was placed before the University Board. They appointed a three person committee to "meet with representatives of the school."[70] Somers' proposal affected MES and the University in a variety of ways. One person, likely an Eaton Company executive--possibly J. Vaughan--noted that the University would abolish a competitor, in MES; could capitalize on the demand for training in physical education created by MES; would gain $10,000 for purchasing a library; and stand to lose nothing. On the other hand MES had nothing to gain; would receive nothing for its good will; would lose its alumnae, and the "School which did the best work in Canada will be soon entirely forgotten." He then recommended the Eaton company consider perpetuating the name of Margaret Eaton by paying "for the erecting of this proposed building to carry her

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[69] F.A. Somers to Mr. Lewis, February 8, 1941, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

[70] Board of Governors Minutes, A70-0024, Box 14, February 13, 1941. Florence Somers letter to Fennell is included with the minutes.

name," since "the proposed idea of having a Margt. Eaton Library costing 10,000 seems so inadequate."[71] The Eaton Company stood to gain by protecting itself from a potential liability.

The University had no choice but to wait till after World War II to get a building. Since they needed a building for the new Physical Education program, they appreciated the use of "the premises of the Margaret Eaton School for carrying on the work," and were willing to "take over control of the School but continue under the Margaret Eaton name for a short period of years for the sake of continuity."[72] It was also estimated at the time that

> in the Balance Sheet there appears on the Assets side, an amount of about $8,000.00 accumulated profits; and on the Liabilities side, about $19,000.00. Presumably these debts would be wiped out; and as regards the $8,000.00... this should be donated... for purposes of establishing a... Margaret Eaton Library."[73]

This library consisted of "approximately 600 volumes plus current physical culture periodicals."[74] As to the $19,000.00 debt, this had previously been written off in the Eaton Company books.[75] Furthermore, the Eaton Company also proposed presentation of annual scholarships in honour of Margaret Eaton. So what did the University end up getting? An opportunity to begin their Physical Education program; with a small facility, with some

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[71] Copy of note, March 15, 1941, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[72] Mr. I. W. Ford to Mr. J. Elliott, March 29, 1941, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[73] Ibid.

[74] O.D. Vaughan to I.W. Ford, October 6, 1941, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto;" and May 14, 1942, Board of Governors Minutes, A70-0024, Box 14.

[75] J. Elliott to J.J. Vaughan, September 22, 1941, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

students, and with a small library. MES gave the program foundational building blocks that were important in getting this program off the ground.

This amalgamation would come with conditions,[76] outlined in the following extracts from Stanley Ryerson's letter to Reverend Cody, president of the University of Toronto.

> The request is made that the following members of the present Staff of the School should be given appointments in the University in the Department of Physical and Health Education, consideration being given to their status, qualifying them for regular promotion for service, merit and study. Florence Somers.... Dorothy N. R. Jackson.... Shirley Naylor.... Salaries paid at present by Margaret Eaton School.
>
> To Miss Florence A. Somers..... $2,425.00
> Miss Dorothy N.R. Jackson.... 1,700.00
> Miss Shirley E. Naylor..... 1,300.00
>
> The request is also made that Miss Charlotte H. Layton, B.A., Acadia University, Secretary of the School, be given an appointment in the University for Secretarial Work.
>
> The salary she has been receiving is... $1,750.00[77]

It was also requested that

> the Margaret Eaton School Alumnae be given use of the Office staff for the purpose of securing positions, issuing credential certificates, sending out News letters to graduates, etc.... Graduates of the School of the last years, who have Senior Matriculation and who have obtained an average standing of 70% or over in their course at The Margaret Eaton School, be admitted to the Second Year of the course in Physical and Health Education... for present first year students... a provision to be made for these students to complete the Second Year of the Margaret Eaton Course.... Favorable consideration to be given to the admission to the Second Year of the Course in Physical Education and Health Education of certain First Year

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[76] F.A. Somers to Mr. Lewis, February 8, 1941, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

[77] It is interesting to note that she made more money than two of the faculty. E. Stanley Ryerson to The Hon. and Rev. H. J. Cody, March 21, 1941, pp. 3, UTA-DEPA, A82-1134.

> students who have completed Senior Matriculation Requirements. Arrangements to be made for the present M.E.S. First Year Students... to spend three or four weeks at Camp Tanamakoon in September.... This privilege shall be open to women students in the University Course in Physical and Health Education.... Maintaining the present residences for MES students.[78]

Lady Eaton was advised of the situation, including the gains for the University and the losses for MES. It was then "merely" suggested that

> [a]s the University is usually eager for financial assistance, a proposal might be made, if the Company could see its way to do so, that the Company would pay for the erection of the building which the University has in mind... and the building to be known as "The Margaret Eaton Hall," or by some title including the Margaret Eaton name.[79]

The Eaton Company did take action and assured the University of "the willingness of those concerned to permit such amalgamation." They also submitted the details of their request, which did not include monies for the erection of a building.[80]

The University committee, in its report, recommended "the acceptance of the School in the University." With respect to facilities the report noted that the University would receive the use of the building--gymnasium, pool, offices, lecture room and library--for a nominal fee of one dollar a year plus maintenance costs of approximately $1,000 a year. Furthermore,

> the facilities thus made available are **urgently** needed if the work of the new department is to be satisfactorily performed; and that in return for these facilities the University will be expected:
> (a) to maintain the course in Health and Physical

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[78] E. Stanley Ryerson, 4.

[79] Letter to Lady Eaton, April 12, 1941, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[80] I.R. Lewis to R.Y. Eaton, May 20, 1941, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto;" and R.Y. Eaton to Doctor Cody, May 22, 1941, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

Education.

(b) to include, for a period of three years, the name "The Margaret Eaton School" on the stationary and literature of the Department.

(c) to permit the Margaret Eaton School graduates of the last four years, who have Senior Matriculation, and an average standing of 70% or over, to complete University Course in two years; the courses for which credit is given to be decided by the Department.

(d) to provide the use of office staff for service of the Margaret Eaton School Alumnae with regard to positions, credentials, News Letters, etc.[81]

The four previously mentioned members of the MES staff were to be appointed to the University. This was easily accepted by the University Board of Governors, since they felt this department would be financially advantageous to the University. Furthermore, since Jane Coventry (previous director of physical education at the University) was resigning, Somers' appointment was considered "most timely."[82] The committee referred the matter of maintaining the MES residence to the President and recommended the "President be authorized to acknowledge Mr. R.Y. Eaton letter and to accept with thanks the generous offer of the scholarships." In conclusion, the report noted that "in connection with the new course and the taking over of the Margaret Eaton School the estimated income is $19,620 while the estimated cost for salaries and maintenance is $12,340, leaving a balance of $7,280."[83] If Macdonald's calculations were correct the University could expect to gain from this venture. The recommendations were accepted and the University Board of

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[81] May 22, 1941, UTA, Board of Governors Minutes, A70-0024, Box 14. Emphasis added.

[82] Ibid. Florence Somers salary of $2,425.00 was almost 30 per cent lower than her male counterpart, M.G. Griffiths, who would make #3,600.00. June 26, 1941, Board of Governors Minutes, A70-0024, Box 14.

[83] Ibid.

Governors, in its reply to R.Y. Eaton, wrote that

> these conditions the Board of Governors gladly accepts.... The Board also thanks you for your generosity in agreeing with Miss Somers to devote the present cash surplus, I think about $10,000.00, to the establishment of a library.... This library will be a memorial to Mrs. Eaton. The Board further gratefully accepts the two Margaret Eaton scholarships which the T. Eaton Company Limited has been good enough to offer, one in the Second Year and one in the Third Year, each of the value of $500.00.
>
> I would like to add that we all at the University are gratified at the consummation of this union between the Margaret Eaton School and the University Department of Physical Education. I am sure the result will be to the great advantage of physical education throughout the Province.[84]

Although Ryerson wrote that the $8,000 to $10,000 gift came personally from Florence Somers, it actually came from the T. Eaton Company and represented the excess money on the schools account ledger. This was of course an interesting arrangement for the Eaton Company; Somers was responsible for the losses, while the Eaton Company controlled the assets. Somers, suggested that this money not be turned over "until such time as the University provides a building suitable for the purpose. Also, Miss Somers did not think it would be necessary to turn over all the money at once...."[85] Furthermore, Lewis consulted a friend, Mr. Wilgress, a Parliamentary Librarian,[86] and determined that $150 a year would be necessary to maintain the Margaret Eaton

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[84] H.J. Cody to Colonel Eaton, May 30, 1941, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

[85] J. Elliott to Mr. I.R. Lewis, July 14, and July 30, 1941, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

[86] O.D. Vaughan to I.W. Ford, October 6, 1941, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

Library.[87] There were other questions that also required answers. Questions such as: "Might a photo of Mrs. Eaton have a prominent place in library? How would the library be furnished? Who would determine the books which would constitute the library?"[88] However, the exact sum paid by MES to the University on December 9, 1942, was $10,027.56.[89] The MES Directors, controlling MES's assets, waived any claim to this money.[90] In addition, on the advice of Mr. O.D. Vaughan, who was given his brother's vice-presidency when John retired,[91] the Eaton Company also approved an endowment fund of $5,000 for the maintenance of this library.[92] The suggestion was also made that a representative from the Eaton company act on a committee to "have some voice in the matter of the room to be used and the furnishings, as well as the books."[93] James Pryce of Eaton's Recreation Department acted as the

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[87] J. Elliott to Mr. I.R. Lewis, July 14, 1941, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

[88] J. Elliott to Mr. I.R. Lewis, August 30, 1941, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

[89] "General account," Margaret Eaton School--Private Ledger, AO-EC, Series 127, Box 694.

[90] Waiver form to Margaret Eaton School, October 31, 1941, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[91] "Biography--January 1960: Orval Douglas Vaughan," AO-EC, Series 221, Container 2, "Mr. O.D. Vaughan--Vice-President."

[92] R.Y. Eaton to Lady Eaton, June 2, 1942, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto;" and I.W. Ford to Mr. I.R. Lewis, October 7, 1941; and John D. Eaton to Doctor Cody, December 9, 1942, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

[93] J.J. Vaughan to J. Elliott, August 19, 1941, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

representative.[94] Furthermore, a clause was inserted in the Deed of Gift that the University "would assume entire responsibility for maintaining the physical appearance of the Library in a manner worthy of the name which it bore."[95] The University "gratefully" received these gifts and responsibilities.[96]

The Margaret Eaton Library did not become a reality until November 21, 1952.[97] Furniture was then removed from the Yonge Street building, new furnishings were purchased, and the library established in the new women's building, previously the Wymilwood residence of E.R. Wood, later known as Falconer Hall.[98] The furnishings were purchased from the Eaton Company, and since the bill was $2,673.69 higher than budgeted, the company also donated that amount to the library.[99] There had been a painting which

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[94] Zerada Slack to O.D. Vaughan, October 23, 1952; and O.D. Vaughan to Zerada Slack, October 28, 1952, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[95] Executive offices, October 7, 1941; and John, D. Eaton to Rev. H. J. Cody, December 9, 1942, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[96] December 10, 1942, Board of Governors Minutes, A70-0024, Box 14; and C.E. Higginbottom to J.D. Eaton, December 15, 1942; H.J. Cody to J.D. Eaton, December 18, 1942; J.D. Eaton to C.E. Higginbottom, December 22, 1942; and J.D. Eaton to H.J. Cody, December 22, 1942, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[97] Invitation, November 21, 1952; and Zerada Slack to O.D. Vaughan, November 24, 1952, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto;" and "Hart House for Women," Telegram (20 November 1952): 14.

[98] Dorothy Milner to Mr. Rankin, nd.; Zerada Slack to Mr. Pryce, June 23, 1952; Dorothy Milner to Mr. Rankin, June 24, 1952; A.E. Smalley to O.D. Vaughan, June 24, 1952; O.D. Vaughan to A.E. Smalley, June 25, 1952; A.G. Rankin to O.D. Vaughan, June 26, 1952; O.D. Vaughan to A.G. Rankin, June 27, 1952; A.G. Rankin to O.D. Vaughan, July 24, 1952; and O.D. Vaughan to A.G. Rankin, July 25, 1952, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[99] Invoice no 9702, March 25, 1953; Zerada Slack to O.D. Vaughan, April 6, 1953; O.D. Vaughan to Zerada Slack, April 7, 1953; President to O.D. Vaughan, April 7, 1953; and C.E. Higginbottom to O.D.

Margaret Eaton had commissioned from Forster which hung in the MES building for years, but the portrait of Mrs. Eaton placed in the library, was painted by Charles MacGregor.[100]

Today the Margaret Eaton Library is in the University of Toronto Physical Education and Athletics Building. When visiting the library in March 1991, the library is in reality a faculty lounge with the original four eight-foot by eight-foot book shelves containing some of the old books from the original Margaret Eaton Library, as well as books from faculty who have retired and placed their old books there. There are approximately two thousand books. It appeared unused and its integrity lost.

Director Florence Somers and Dorothy Jackson, were appointed as Assistant Professors in the University. Shirley Naylor also joined the university faculty. Charlotte Layton, MES' secretary, was also employed by the University.[101] To each of them R.Y. Eaton gave a letter thanking them for their work at MES, and enclosed a cheque as a token of appreciation.[102]

Finally:

The Margaret Eaton School wishes to announce that on

Vaughan, April 27, 1953, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[100] A.E. Smalley to O.D. Vaughan, June 24, 1952; and C. MacGregor to S. Martin, December 18, 1952, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[101] "Promotions and Appointments at U. of T.," Globe (17 September 1941): 4.

[102] The specific amount of these cheques was not determined. R.Y. Eaton to Mr. I.W. Ford, September 18, 1941; and J. Elliott to A.E. Smalley, September 23, 1941, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto;" and R.Y. Eaton to Miss Jackson; Miss Layton; and Miss Somers, September 19, 1941, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

> September 1st it will become a part of the University of Toronto. Students who enter this Fall, will take the new 3-year course in Physical and Health Education which was inaugurated in the University last year. This course leads to the degree of Bachelor of Physical and Health Education (B.P.H.E.).[103]

Florence Somers, in a letter to the Alumnae, argued that

> We are finding that a degree is essential for many positions which are referred to our office, and I believe this demand will increase in the future.... Those who have senior matriculation have the opportunity to enter the new course with advanced standing in some courses.... The Cooperation begun in 1934 was the first step toward this final amalgamation.[104]

The amalgamation of MES with the University was noted in two Toronto newspapers. One article noted that "The Margaret Eaton School, for years Toronto's outstanding centre of physical and health education for women, is to be merged with the University of Toronto." The article gave a glowing account of MES's history.[105] The second article contained many of the same comments but added the complimentary note that since 1926 the school had built up a "laudable reputation."[106] This was in part an act of mutual congratulations since the second article, and much of the first, were copies of a press release prepared by the University in consultation with the Eaton Company.[107]

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[103] F. A. Somers, pamphlet on "Margaret Eaton School," UTA-DPEA, A87-0027/034; and The-News-of-the-School VIII, No. 4 (June 1941), 1.

[104] Florence A. Somers, letter to "Dear Members of the Alumnae Association," September 18, 1941, UTA-DPEA, A87-0027/034.

[105] "Eaton School to be part of the University," Daily Star (20 June 1941): 10.

[106] "Eaton School Part of the University of Toronto," Globe and Mail (20 June 1941).

[107] J. Elliott to Mr. Lewis, June 11, 1941 and June 16, 1941; H.J. Dunlop to Mr. Lewis, June 12, 1941; I.R. Lewis to Mr. Dunlop, June 18, 1941, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

The description of MES in the new University calendar was of sufficient interest to the Eaton Company to ask presumptively to see it before the calendar went to press.[108] Since the University acquired the use of the Margaret Eaton Building, also for a nominal rental fee of one dollar a year, a new lease needed to be drafted. They were given use of nearly the entire building, except for the Margaret Eaton Hall, and a letter was then prepared permitting the Eaton Girls' Club to make use of certain portions of the building at set times.[109]

For the students and alumnae of MES there were some obvious changes. Interest was lost in the September camp and it ended in 1948. It was noted, somewhat sadly, that "As the camp is not compulsory this year [1941] for anyone but our seniors, and as the new students do not have to register until September 10th, there are only three first year students taking it."[110]

It seems that MES students made a positive impact on the University of Toronto. For one, photographs of graduates from the Department of Physical and Health Education, for the six years following the amalgamation of the school show many more female than male graduates. In part this may be due to the war. However, one would think that if MES, graduating approximately twenty females a year, had not joined with the University of Toronto, the formation of the Department of Physical and Health

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[108] J. Elliott to Mr. Lewis, June 10, 1941, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

[109] J. Elliott to Mr. J. Pryce, June 20, 1941; H.F. Mullen to Mr. J. Elliott, June 24, 1941; Mr. Lewis, June 28, 1941; J. Elliott to Mr. I.R. Lewis, June 28, 1941; University of Toronto to the Eaton Girls Club, July 1, 1941, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

[110] The-News-of-the-School IX, No. 1 (September 1941): 1.

Education might have been delayed.

The Alumnae newsletter describes how certain traditions of MES were continued. On March 28, 1942 one read of a "Demonstration of Physical Education Activities by the Women Students of the School of Physical Health Education of the University of Toronto and The Margaret Eaton School."[111]

For a time, one other way the name of Margaret Eaton was perpetuated was through a scholarship. Before the School was officially incorporated into the University there was talk of giving a scholarship to Physical Education students at the University. Two conditions which might apply were a "certain standard of proficiency in English Literature," and "a certain standard in Oral Expression." Five scholarships of $200 each were being considered; one for a first year student and two each for the two subsequent years.[112] This was modified to

> One Second year Scholarship and one Third Year Scholarship, each of a value of Five Hundred Dollars ($500.00), to be awarded at the discretion of the Council in Health and Physical Education, on the basis of high scholarship and a high standing in Literature and Oral Expression.[113]

Upon further dialogue with the University[114] the final formulation of scholarships was: Three scholarships would be given to the top three students completing First Year and entering Second Year,

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[111] "Demonstration of Physical Education..." pamphlet, March 28, 1942, UTA-DEPA, A87-0027/034.

[112] R.Y. Eaton to Mr. Lewis, May 1, 1941, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

[113] R.Y. Eaton to Doctor Cody, May 22, 1941, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

[114] R.Y. Eaton to Mrs. Robert Fennell, September 26, 1942; and J.R. Rutledge to Mr. R.Y. Eaton, October 1, 1942, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

each having "Grade `A' standing (1st Class Honours) in the general Course with proficiency in Literature and Oral Expression." The respective amounts were $250, $150 and $100. Similar scholarships were also awarded to three students completing Second Year and entering Third Year. Two medals were given to students completing Third Year (Graduating Year). The Margaret Eaton Gold Medal was given "to the student having the highest standing in the general Course with First Class Honours in Literature and Oral Expression." The Emma Scott Nasmith Gold Medal was given "to the student having the highest standing in Literature and Oral Expression, with First Class Honours in the general Course."[115] A copy of these medals was also given to Mrs. Burden[116] and Dorothy Fennell[117] on account of the contributions of their mothers, respectively, Margaret Eaton and Emma Scott Raff. The scholarship arrangements were reviewed every five years, and the dollar values tended to slightly increase.[118] In 1982, the Governors of the Eaton Foundation decided to discontinue the Scholarships. They noted:

> According to our records, the Scholarships have been awarded for more than forty years and, in order to meet the many demands and to serve the changes in society and our own interests in terms of priority, it has been decided that, following the 1982/83 school

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[115] J.D. Eaton to Doctor Cody, December 9, 1942, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

[116] J.D. Eaton to Mrs. C.E. Burden, June 12, 1944, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[117] J.D. Eaton to Mrs. Fennell, June 12, 1944, AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto."

[118] J.D. Eaton to Doctor Cody, December 9, 1942; Frank F. McEachren to Mr. Sword, January 5, 1968; and "Margaret Eaton Scholarship and Emma Scott Nasmith Scholarship," nd. EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

year, we will discontinue the Scholarship.[119]

Four years after MES had closed, the termination of the Margaret Eaton School began.[120] In 1949 there were only three surviving directors, Lady Eaton, R.Y. Eaton and J.J. Vaughan, who was also secretary. No new president had been named after Margaret Eaton's death in 1933; there had been no Directors meeting since.[121] The inactivity of the Directors led some to believe that there never were any shareholders.[122]

The only surviving child of Margaret Eaton, Mrs. M.B. Burden,[123] was asked for her agreement in cancelling the charter.[124] She felt perfectly satisfied in acquiescing to the suggestions of the surviving directors.[125] Permission was also requested and received from J.D. Eaton,[126] and the University of

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[119] Frank F. McEachren to Dr. Shephard, June 22, 1982, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

[120] See correspondence in AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School--Surrender of Charter."

[121] Form from The Companies Information Act, signed by R.Y Eaton on December 9, 1949, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School--Surrender of Charter."

[122] Florence A. Somers to Mr. Lewis, June 5, 1941, EFA, "Margaret Eaton School."

[123] F.W. Murch to Mr. J.D. Eaton, August 21, 1947, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School--Surrender of Charter."

[124] F.W. Murch to Mrs. Burden, July 8, 1947, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School--Surrender of Charter."

[125] Margaret Burden to Mr. Murch, July 14, 1947, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School--Surrender of Charter."

[126] F.W. Murch to Mr. J.D. Eaton, August 21, 1947; and F.W. Murch to Mr. O.D. Vaughan, September 5, 1947, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School--Surrender of Charter."

Toronto.[127]

Ever fearful of bad publicity, the Eaton executives felt that "sometimes the advertisement in the daily newspapers, which will be seen by a good many people, is liable to create a wrong impression in the public mind." Voluntary Winding-up was the preferred route. This required:

> a resolution by the shareholders, the appointment of a liquidator, publication of a notice in the Ontario Gazette only, then a final report by the liquidator to be approved by the shareholders and filed with the Provincial Secretary, and three months from the date of such filing the Corporation shall ipso facto be dissolved.[128]

This procedure for winding up was pursued. The following announcement was placed once in the January 8, 1949, Ontario Gazette:

> Be it Resolved:
> 1. That the Margaret Eaton School be and it is hereby required to be wound up voluntarily under the provisions of The Companies Act, R.S.O., 1937, Chapter 251.
> 2. That D. Fraser Wilson, 190 Yonge Street, Toronto, Ontario, be and he is hereby appointed liquidator for the purpose of winding up the affairs of The Margaret Eaton School and distributing its property.
>
> Certified to be a true copy of the resolution passed at a special general meeting of the shareholders of The Margaret Eaton School, held for that purpose on the 30th day of December, 1948.
>
> J.J. Vaughan
> Secretary[129]

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[127] F.W. Murch to Mr. O.D. Vaughan, September 5, 1947; and President Sidney Smith to Mr. O.D. Vaughan, September 27, 1947, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School--Surrender of Charter."

[128] C.P. Coatsworth to Mr. J. Elliott, April 23, 1948, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School--Surrender of Charter."

[129] C.P. Coatsworth to The Ontario Gazette, December 30, 1948, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School--Surrender of Charter;" C.P. Coatsworth to Mr. J. Elliott, January 21, 1950; and Mr.

C.P. Coatsworth to Mr. F.W. Murch and I.W. Ford, January 20, 1950, AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4 "Margaret Eaton School--Surrender of Charter."

Chapter Eight: Epilogue, Summary, and Conclusion

After offering forty-one years of educational opportunities in elocution, drama, and physical education, MES closed its doors. Its alumnae association and some of its faculty continued the work of MES, but no more classes were offered, and time began to eclipse the work and memories of this institution. The School's forty-one years were pioneering, and provide a glimpse into Canadian education of women during the first forty years of the twentieth century.

XXXI. Epilogue

The faculty continued their promotion of women's physical education. Florence Somers taught at the University of Toronto till her retirement in 1949.[1] Dorothy Jackson taught at the University of Toronto and was actively involved in the promotion of physical education for girls and women, in badminton, synchronized swimming, aquatics, basketball, and volleyball.[2] From 1943 to 1946 she was Vice-President of the CPEA.[3] At the time of her death, on April 9, 1967, she was the Director of the Department of Athletics and Physical Education for Women at the University of Toronto.[4]

After MES officially joined the University of Toronto the

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[1] "Personal Notes," (11 May 1949), in a file of the author, received from Eleanor Keyes.

[2] "Plan Course for Leaders," Telegram (8 March 1943): 8.

[3] Bray, 128.

[4] Munro.

Alumnae Association continued to try and keep former MES students together.[5] How long they officially kept the association together is not clear. Charlotte Layton, who retired from the University in June of 1950,[6] produced and distributed the M.E.S. Newsletter four times a year and, according to Jackson, "was an important link between the graduates."[7] This newsletter was begun in the mid 1930s and continued into the early 1950s.

Most of the MES graduates kept contact with at least a few close friends from school, through annual Christmas cards, occasional visits, and phone calls. There was a school reunion in 1953, but after that it seems the Alumnae Association began to break apart. However, Elizabeth Pitt ('25) did organize a school reunion in 1975, more than thirty years after the school closed.[8] The class of '39 has held reunions every five years from their twenty-fifth to their fiftieth in 1989, a tradition they hope to continue.[9] In addition there is an annual tea, usually held in Toronto, a round-robin letter circulating, and an address list which is kept up to date. As a member of the class of '39

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[5] Lois Russell Heaton and Adrienne Adams Lea to the "Graduates," November 24, 1942, UTA-DEPA, A87-0027/034; alumnae letters and invitations, in a file of the author, received from Eleanor Keyes.

[6] Dear Alumna, from Helen Parsons, (15 March 1950), in a file of the author, received from Eleanor Keyes.

[7] Jackson, 26; this position was also supported in an interview with Mrs. Kennedy Labbett.

[8] File of the author, received from Elizabeth Pitt Barron--contains programmes and photographs.

[9] Correspondence with Ruth Corner, to the author, August, 1991.

stated: "It was an unusual class indeed."[10] The class of '41 also holds reunions every five years, with their most recent in the Fall of 1991 in Nova Scotia.[11] The class of '42, the final MES graduates, plan to hold a reunion on the fiftieth anniversary of their graduation in May of 1992.[12]

Contributing to MES's eclipse in Canadian history are at least four major factors. First, when MES joined with the University no central repository of an institution's history was maintained--portions of the archives are at the University of Toronto, Victoria College, Ontario Archives, Eaton Foundation, and the Metro Toronto Reference Library. Secondly, there is no building today that serves as a visible reminder of the school: it moved from its own building in 1925, to a rented building till the school closed in 1942. Over time both of these buildings were destroyed and replaced with office buildings and stores. Jackson commented in 1936 that the "old building at 415 Yonge Street will soon be gone. The memories and the reputation of the School will remain."[13] But without a building memories fade more quickly. Also, the last students graduated in 1942, the youngest remaining graduates are in their early seventies, and as graduates die, the collective memories of the school go with them. Finally, since the school was amalgamated into a larger

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[10] Correspondence with Rhoda Wood Green, to the author, July 25, 1991.

[11] Correspondence with Gerry Dickson Rogers, to the author, July 2, 1991.

[12] Correspondence with Pauline Seller Hill, to the author, January 1992.

[13] "The MES Scene - April 1963," file of the author, received from Blanch Wellman Lynn.

institution, the visible memories of MES were slowly swallowed up by the University. In the case of MES, the physical education demonstrations and September camps were the first to go. The scholarships were recently terminated. The Margaret Eaton Library is the only visible reminder of the amalgamation, but it has lost its integrity.

XXXII. Summary

MES was an innovative school for women, which played an important role in the development of the Little Theatre Movement in Toronto, as well as in the advancement of Physical Education in Canada. It was founded by a woman, and its financial solvency was dependent on the assistance of a wealthy woman benefactor, Margaret Eaton, and later, to a lesser extent, the Eaton Company.

As a private school its founder, Emma Scott Raff, took the opportunity to develop an innovative curriculum in elocution, drama, and physical education. She emphasized individualized instruction, understanding the "unique needs" of women, and the importance of proper elocution. In connection with individualization was an emphasis that people control their own destiny. The school offered an extensive part-time program, offered instruction in such things as, Shakespeare, physical education, and assisting those with a variety of speech and physical "defects." The school's curriculum was unique in its focus on expression during the first twenty-five years, and its curriculum included more contemporary writers, often controversial ones such as Ibsen, than was typical for other post-secondary institutions of the period. The school also

provided a comprehensive physical education program, particularly from 1916 to the closing of the school. Not only was the school one of the first to develop these programs, it was very responsive to change. For example, when sportswomen increased their multi-sport participation in the Twenties and Thirties, MES was at the fore front of implementing these changes.

From 1901-1926, the curriculum, in elocution, drama, and physical education, was based on the philosophies of Ancient Greece, in which it was important to harmoniously develop the physical, mental, and moral aspects of a person. However, while that was stated, the physical clearly took an inferior position as reflected in a statement such as: "the body, by a reverential, assiduous care, is made obedient to the mind."[14] This was despite Dr. Hutton's warnings to the graduating class of 1919, that "classical scholarship was only an artificial and inadequate substitute, for neither Plato nor Aristotle had anything to offer the man in the street. They appealed to the aristocracy of intellect only."[15] Perhaps this was appropriate since most MES students were hardly poor.

MES was the first institution in Toronto to develop the Little Theatre, and it produced the first Irish plays in Canada. Furthermore, a number of its students, most notably Dora Mavor Moore, became actively involved in theatre. When Hart House,

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[14] "The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression," News (8 January 1907): 4.

[15] "Diplomas at Eaton School," Globe (2 June 1919): 10.

considered to be "Flagship of Canada's Little Theatre movement,"[16] opened in 1919, several of its players were MES graduates.

MES also provided one of the first and, until 1941, the most comprehensive program of instruction for those interested in teaching Physical Education. That this program was offered during a formative period in the development of physical education in Canada, underscores the importance of MES's role. Its program in Physical Education was the most demanding in Canada. In addition it took an early lead in Camp Education. MES was also one of the first institutions to provide organized recreation for women in Toronto. The school taught many teachers, and its graduates, particularly in the final period, secured jobs in their fields. Lenskyj acknowledges in her dissertation that aside from several free summer courses in physical culture offered at the University of Toronto, the Margaret Eaton School was the only option for female teachers seeking physical education instruction.[17] The school's impact was most evident in Canada's Y.W.C.A.s and private schools. The school's importance was muted by Ontario's accrediting policy. This policy prevented MES graduates from teaching physical education in public secondary schools without going to the Ontario College of Education, even though MES offered a more comprehensive program in physical education than the Ontario College of Education. The University of Toronto's Bachelor's

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[16] David Gardner, "Little Theatre and Amateur Theatre," 304; and Raymond Card, "Drama in Toronto: The Forgotten Years 1919-1939," English Quarterly 6, No. 1 (Spring 1973): 67.

[17] Helen Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education in the Socialization of Girls in ONtario, 1890-1930," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1983), 218-219.

course in Physical Education would not have begun as quickly as it did, without the resources--faculty, students, building, and library--MES offered the University in their merger.

Finally, Mary Hamilton and MES played a key role in the development of the Canadian Physical Education Association by hosting its founding meeting. Faculty and students, most notably Mary Hamilton, Florence Somers, and Dorothy Jackson, held key positions in the CPEA and contributed numerous articles and book reviews to the Association's journal.

The history of MES revolved around four women: Emma Scott Raff, Margaret Eaton, Mary Hamilton, and Florence Somers. MES began as a small school of expression. Scott Raff founded a school of expression in 1901. It was Margaret Eaton, beginning in 1906, who supplied the funds to provide visibility and permanence of this school. When she quit paying for the school in the Twenties, Scott Raff resigned, and the school's program shifted dramatically. Mary Hamilton continued the school's physical education department, without an active Board of Directors, to form the Margaret Eaton School in 1926. When she retired, in 1934, Florence Somers profitably administered a demanding physical education program. She eventually encouraged the school's merger with the University of Toronto and so permitted the establishment of Canada's first bachelor's program in physical education, beginning in 1941.

The governance of MES shows the importance of a wealthy benefactor to a private educational institution. In Toronto, there were several other small schools focusing on expression and physical education in the early nineteen hundreds, but none of them lasted longer than a few years. For this school, the

difference was Margaret Eaton. She provided a building and paid the School's debts. When Margaret Eaton discontinued financing the school, its eventual closure followed. The Board of Directors and those who served on the school's advisory council were all from Toronto's elite, and played a role secondary to Margaret Eaton. Though O'Bryan argued that the Eaton Company was "understandably reluctant to see the passing of the Margaret Eaton School,"[18] quite the opposite is the case. The Eaton Company provided a facility to house the school, but the building was bought for the Eaton's Recreation Club, which did not use the building during school hours. The Eaton Company was interested in terminating the school at the lowest cost to itself, while gaining the greatest positive publicity.

MES's faculty and student body consisted almost completely of women. The school provided an opportunity for women to teach women, some of its graduates taught full-time at MES, while many taught part-time. The faculty had a vision for women in expression, drama, and physical education. Especially noteworthy in this respect are the school's three principals. As was the case with women university students from 1900 to 1940, MES's students tended to be those who had considerable financial resources. Using the Blishen Scale,[19] the fathers of MES students were mainly from the top seventeen per cent of the income scale. In addition to the full-time students, there were hundreds of part-time students in an extension program which was especially active in the second period. This program also catered to the

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[18] O'Bryan, 130-136.

[19] B.R. Blishen, "The Construction and Use of an Occupational Class Scale," C.J.E.P.S. No. 4 (November 1958).

wealthy and encouraged "high culture." The co-curricular activities, such as the various clubs and teams, plus residential life, were also used by the school to teach women how to live a high culture life, showing due recognition for the "frailties" of women. O'Bryan described the program as one in which ladies were "being `finished' and prepared for genteel occupations."[20] Lenskyj felt MES had too much of a "preoccupation with `personal culture,' or `true womanhood.'"[21] Indeed Scott Raff herself supported this notion when she said "the end and aim of this training, is not to fit our students for the platform or the stage, but for life and for the home."[22] In the final period of the school, being lady-like--wearing hats and gloves--was considered an important component of MES's training. However, these statements need be tempered with the fact that the daily workload for students was demanding, particularly during the latter part of the school's history, and that positions that the graduates found themselves in, such as teaching physical education in schools, colleges and universities, directing Y.W.C.A.'s, running summer camps, are not simply "genteel occupations." Fifteen per cent of the graduates remained single and pursued their careers, while many others resumed their careers when their children had grown up. Furthermore, graduates took their work seriously, regularly upgrading themselves at various summer schools, and even during the Christmas break at refresher courses offered by MES. The school made an impact on

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[20] O'Bryan, 120.

[21] Lenskyj, 218.

[22] "Social Events," Globe (30 May 1910): 9; and Advertisement, Globe, (28 May 1921): 21.

the lives of the students as attested to by the high response rate to the questionnaire used in this study, as well as favourable comments made by these alumnae about the school's excellence.

XXXIII. Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to reconstruct the history of the Margaret Eaton School, to understand its creation, its formation, and its demise. This was made possible by the available information from fragmented records, as well as by a strong network among MES alumnae.

The curriculum of MES was innovative. Stamp suggested innovation was typical for private schools during this time;[23] in that sense it was similar to other private schools of its time.

The school's creation was the result of the vision, perhaps egotism, of one woman, Emma Scott Raff. The school's growth was due to the financial support of Margaret Eaton. When Margaret Eaton discontinued her financial support, the school continued because it had established a fine reputation for teaching women physical educators, and the Eaton Company, particularly Robert Eaton, provided the school with a building. The school's demise may have been imminent from its beginning. It had failed to diversify its financial support, its leaders were desirous of university affiliation, and the provincial government would not certify MES graduates to teach in public high schools. Yet, in

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[23] Robert Stamp, "A History of Private Schools in Ontario," in Bernard Shapiro, The Report of the Commission on Private Schools in Ontario, (October 31, 1985), 199.

closing its own doors, MES opened doors permitting the University of Toronto to begin a Bachelor's program in Physical Education.

During this study, further topics of research became apparent. For example, there has been little study of the camping experience of girls during the early growth of that movement, Camp Tanamakoon as one of the first such camps, and the first in Canada to offer training of camp counsellors. It deserves a more complete analysis, some of which is already begun. There are other related institutions that also deserve study, most notably is the Ontario College of Education's program for training physical educators. It would be of considerable importance to understand how the government sought to implement teacher training in physical education. Other institutions--private girls' schools--that still exist, such as Branksome Hall, Havergal, Bishop Strachan School, and Crofton House should also be studied to promote a better understanding of women's education during the first half of the twentieth century. Because the present study and the educational institutions listed, focus on wealthy students, it is also important to understand the educational experiences, or lack thereof, in drama, physical education, and sport for the majority of women who were not wealthy.

Though Somers thought that MES's name would be perpetuated through the University, she was wrong. Unfortunately for Somers, the present Margaret Eaton Library is more of a faculty lounge than a library, the scholarships and camp training at Tanamakoon have ended, and the Discobolus--a symbol of student government--has disappeared. Today, the memories of the Margaret Eaton School live on in an obscure booklet written by Dorothy Jackson,

in a brief reference in several books, in documents scattered through Toronto and Canada, in the lives of those graduates that are still alive, and in this reconstruction of a pioneering Canadian institution for women's theatre and physical education. It has been an opportunity to make more visible some history that had become nearly invisible.